

LANGUAGE AND NATIONALITY

IN THE LIGHT OF

REVELATION *and* HISTORY

A-23

BY

CHARLES F. ST. LAURENT.

"History reveals the action of God upon society.
By it, experience of the past forewarns the future;
history partakes of the nature of prophecy."

S. AUG., *City of God*, lib. xviii, chap. XI.



MONTREAL

CANADA

CHARLES F. ST. LAURENT

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INTRODUCTION.

Without the powerful search-light of Revelation, science cannot fathom the mysteries that encompass creation ! Apart from the Bible, human reason is powerless to grasp the first conception of chaos. Reason can only throw an uncertain light, and on many points, it is plunged in the deepest obscurity.

Of what avail is the intellect to fathom the primitive operation of the supreme mind ; the formation of man after the image of God ; the reality of Providence governing the world ; the certainty of a future state, where punishment and reward is judiciously meted out ; the fall of our first parents ; the knowledge of the deluge ; the longevity of patriarchal life ; the moral struggles and antagonisms and inconsistencies of human nature ; the identity of idea, scattered among the races and religious beliefs of mankind ; these various conceptions are positive evidences of a supernatural power that enlightened the world. It is impossible to trace up the origin of mankind, as well as the complexity of the foregoing events, without having recourse to the Sacred Books. The infinite designs of the Almighty cannot be penetrated, with the acute discernment of philosophic investigations ; hence the reason why God made known to man his secrets by miraculous and confirmatory signs. Reason, unaided by Revelation, would have been like a ship sailing in the thickest of the night, exposed to be dashed against the rocks, underlying the deep and wander from the path of safety into fathomless depths, before it has been able to descry the clearlight of truth. The works of philosophers, though not deficient in genius, are pregnant with errors. What

could we say of uncultivated minds? What might have been the mental aberrations of the *plebs* had not the Creator unbosomed Himself to man?

So a Supreme and Prior cause operated; creation sprang out of chaos; laws governing nature were enacted; man received light to understand the present, and hope for the future of the human soul. He was made to feel the stigma of death, judgment and eternity.

At the dawn of creation, man was the recipient of divine favors, most of which are recorded in the Bible. Therefore to know the designs of Uncreated Wisdom, anent man, society, language and nationality, we must consult the book of Revelation.

In this pamphlet, we shall endeavor to establish the divine origin of man's most sacred prerogatives, language and nationality, etc. By historical researches, we shall point out the watchful diligence of Providence, controlling events, preserving, through centuries, man's most precious heritage—*language, nationality and patriotism*.

God has implanted in the human heart, an ineradicable love for racial distinctions. Any attempt to extirpate these innate sentiments, deserves condemnation. God will not allow human ambition, nor national pride to override His will and set at rest His infinite designs. Transgressors must inevitably atone for their deed. "*Acting wickedly against the laws of God doth not pass unpunished.*" (*II Mach. IV—17*).

CHARLES F. ST. LAURENT.

COTE-DES-NEIGES,
NEAR MONTREAL, CAN., OCT. 15TH, 1896.



LANGUAGE AND NATIONALITY

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CHAPTER Ist.

The origin of Language and Nationality.

La nation canadienne conserve une véritable importance, et un puissant esprit national, appuyé sur des principes religieux et moraux qui feront sa grandeur, si elle sait leur rester fidèle." (*L. Riou de Neuville. Revue des questions historiques* (Avril-1896).

Creation is an emanation of the Uncreated Power. From all eternity, this complex world had a resting place in the mind of God. "*By Him all things were made, and without Him was made nothing that was made.*" (JOHN, I-3.) There is nothing which He has not created, nothing which He does not conserve, nothing which does or can take place without His concurrence. "*Nothing, says St. Augustine, occurs by chance. God overrules all.*" (S. AUG.)

The evolutions of the world; the rise, growth and fall of empires; the progress of art and science; the marvellous development of industry; the persecutions of the Church of God, are coeval with the Creating Power. From a potential state, these human evolutions have assumed concrete form. One and all are recorded in history, pur-

suant to the designs of Almighty God. These designs are and will always be an unfathomable secret. We learn from history, this ever living mouthpiece of generations and ages, that man is a pliant tool in the execution of God's secrets. In the history of Christ's birth we have a striking proof of God's Providence. Man is made a blind agent in the hands of his maker. Augustus, to satisfy his ambition and pride, orders the census of his empire to be taken up, thereby enables the Virgin Mary to accomplish the prophecies, bearing on the birth of the Saviour. "*And thou Bethlehem Ephrata..... out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be the ruler in Israel; and his going forth is from the beginning, from the days of eternity.*" (MICH. V.-2.) The prophets announced that Bethlehem in Judea would be the cradle of the Messiah. Mary and Joseph comply with the edict. Poor human nature, thou art a vile and blind instrument in the hands of thy Creator! Mary, Joseph and Cesar Augustus carry out the secret designs of God.....

Providence presides over the destiny of individuals and nations; imparts to each laws, conducing to the attainment of the end for which they were created. The physical world is governed, pursuant to fixed laws, and man is habitually the recipient of heavenly favors.

The most convincing proof of divine love for man, is found at the cradle of humanity. *Life, intellect, will and language* are vouchers of Divine liberality. Language, though last, in the order of time, holds the most prominent place in man. Language is an essential character revealed by God, and is the insuperable barrier that separates man from the rest of the animal kingdom.

*"La parole, sublime et divin phénomène,
Mystère où dans un son s'incarne l'âme humaine."*

(DE LAMARTINE)

This fundamental question has given rise to heated, violent, passionate discussions among philologists and scientists, but, in our days, the most eminent ethnogra-

phers proclaim the divine origin of speech. The disclosure of the origin of human speech, is contained in the book of Genesis: "*Whatsoever Adam called any living creature, the same is its name.*" (GENESIS, II—19.) And again: "*And the earth was of one tongue, and of the same speech.*" (GEN. XI—1.) It cannot be doubted that the divine gift of language rests upon scriptural affirmation. This brochure, intended to circulate exclusively, in a catholic medium, is not supposed to satisfy the ravenous mind of skeptics. We take it for granted, that no reader will question the authenticity of the Sacred Books. The original oneness of human language is a fact mentioned in the Mosaic history and corroborated by subsequent circumstances and later philological discoveries. This truth is emphasized in the history of Divine wrath, at the building of the Tower of Babel. It was one of the most stupendous of all calamities which have befallen mankind. The immediate result of this chastisement caused humanity to scatter broad cast over the face of the world. Another striking historical incident, attesting that God oftentimes executes His designs, through the blind agency of man. This supernatural seizure, which immediately destroyed the common language, and permanently dislocated the articulation of the people, by confusing its normal action and dispersing its unity, was produced, like the sudden volcanic disturbance of a river bed, resulting in a separation and scattering of one mighty stream into new and innumerable channels. "*These are the children of Sem according to their kindreds and tongues, and countries in their nations. These are the families of Noah, according to their people and nations. By these were the nations divided on the earth after the flood.*" (GEN. X—31-32.)

It is important to observe the combination of circumstances, arising from remote and independent causes, widely separated by time and place, but all converging upon the same point, thus establishing a mathematical result, excluding the possibility of chance or fabrication. We mean the first words spoken by Adam, when he named

the creatures of the new world ; the confounding of the one form of universal speech at Babel ; and the descent of the tongues of fire upon the Apostles, on Pentecost Sunday : they were all miraculous manifestations, showing to unbiased reason, the divine origin of each incident. On Pentecost Sunday, the devoted Apostles of Christianity surrounded by hostile spies, emissaries of the authorities, instructed to watch, prepared to suspect, and therefore most unlikely to be deceived by any imposition, waited in silent expectancy of some divine manifestation, and in terror of the unfriendly people, standing by, "*and suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind!*" there appeared tongues of fire and then the Apostles began to speak in divers tongues. From that time, the Apostles preached the gospel to all nations, pursuant to the Divine injunction. "*Going therefore, teach ye all nations... teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you...*" (MATH. XXVIII — 19-20.) Again: — *Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be condemned.*" (MAR. XVI—15 et 16.) Within hearing distance there were peoples from all parts, speaking divers languages, nevertheless they perfectly understood the Apostles. Had it not been the will of God, the gift of languages would not have been conferred upon the Apostles, in so miraculous a manner. Every one present saw and understood the manifestation of the Divine will, and parted, homeward, convinced of the divinity of the Church and of its mission to save souls by preaching the gospel in their own respective languages. Three remarkable events stamp the life of mankind with the seal of God's power. We mean the gift of speech at the dawn of creation ; the confusion of language at Babel ; and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles. A perfect and instantaneous command of language, universal knowledge, is certainly an effect that transcends the power of man.

Where is to be found a hostile mind, or a skeptic to disprove what 2.000 years of controversy, could not dis-

turb? The doctrine of the divine origin of speech, was attacked and furiously assailed, but, like a good ship, it has weathered the storm. Surely no catholic layman, and far less a minister of God's altar, will ever dare to question the divine origin of language—one at the dawn of creation; confused at Babel; confirmed on Pentecost Sunday! Who will dare, after these three stupendous miracles, to abolish languages, on a plea of social advancement, or of modern requirements? Could the Lord manifest His will in a more convincing manner? Who will dare to contravene the designs of the Eternal, to satisfy his greed and ambition? The acts and miracles of God are true exponents of His will!

If languages be not a divine gift, how can incredulous ethnologists account for the growths and mutations of human speech, that have been operating since the confusion of tongues, also for similar phenomena still in process of active development, throughout the most remote parts of the world? How can any one account for this spontaneous manifestation of freshness and abundance, if it be not the work of God? Who will dare to attribute these awe-inspiring effects, to human intervention? A boundless system of articulated sounds cannot be the result of human ingenuity, especially in the case of numberless tribes of savage, cut off from civilization, ignorant of the art of speech, still communicating, *inter se*, with abundant crops of dialects, spontaneous and natural as the tangled growths which cover tropical forest. How can we explain the unceasing efforts of the Popes to disseminate the scriptures, entire and incorrupt in the vernacular of every country and people? The language used by some of the Popes, on this subject, has been so direct and emphatic, that none but those outside the pale of reason would assert that languages are not of divine origin. Pope Pius VI, convinced of the divine origin of language and Revelation, expressed his desire to have the Bible translated in the vernacular of every country. He knew well that souls are saved only by hearing the word of God. "*Faith cometh by hearing.*"

This hearing cannot be had, unless the ministers of God speak the language of the taught. How different some American bishops are! They discard the will of Popes to satisfy their national susceptibilities!...

When Archbishop Martini, of Florence, translated the Scriptures in Italian, the Pope addressed him a letter in which he congratulates him for publishing the Sacred Writings, "*in the language of your country, suitable to every one's capacity.*" (APRIL 1st 1778.) Pope Gregory XIII, (A. D. 1572), in a letter addressed to the king of Spain, is equally emphatic. The Church has multiplied the Bible so, that it is now translated in all languages. This solicitude of the Church bears "*prima facie*" evidence of the divine origin of language. The Church does not change. Her solicitude, for the salvation of souls, is subject to no fluctuation; therefore the implied policy of the Church in this century, is to save souls, by preaching the gospel in the vernacular of the country and people. The unity of the original speech, having been dissolved, in that terrible instant of Divine wratch, which convulsed the one form of language and drove apart the human family to wander over the face of the earth; the unique faculty of speech has ever since been beaten like the billows from shore to shore, changing and surging in eternal disquiet. During storms, we read of shipwrecks, etc., but languages, upheld by the mighty strong arm of Providence, have weathered the storm.

Language tends naturally, like created things, to decay. In the process of deterioration, it produces innumerable dialects. The materials of language are imperishable; the growth and decline spontaneous, and cannot be destroyed by violence, or prohibition; the accents will, for ever, linger in the blood of unborn generations. This is food for reflection: assimilators will please take notice.....

The foregoing arguments, based on Scriptural authority, prove conclusively that language is of divine origin and consequently irrelevant of human power. By reason of the confusion of language at Babel, languages have been mul-

tiplied, pursuant to the secret designs of God, and no power here below has any jurisdiction over that multiplicity of languages. American prelates are requested to bear in mind this Scriptural truth. History attests, that man has no power over languages. Modern Greeks are sparing no efforts to revive the language of Plato and the rhetorical vigor and beauty of the age of Pericles, but as well might they attempt to revive the chisel of Phidias ! Germany is jealously striving to exclude French from her powerful vocabulary, but Germans have learned that it is easier to exclude visitors ! A passport may suffice to stop a person, but it cannot repulse a phrase, far less abolish a language. France scrupulously guards her frontier against tongue invasion, nevertheless, German and English expressions have crept in her vocabulary. Were we to unfold the secrets of history, many evidences could be adduced to prove that man has absolutely no jurisdiction over the various forms of language. What could we say of Eastern Europe ; of the Servians, Bulgarians, Roumanians ??? History is a power that crushes to the ground the pride and ambition of human nature. Men may endeavor to stifle the voice of history, but history is a power.

The life of language is of divine origin, consequently the growth must be free and the death natural. No foreign agency can exert a detrimental influence over it. The work of God is not to be made the plaything of human fancy, nor of race prejudices. The most ferocious conquerors have experienced impediments in all attempts to stamp out the language of a people or to eradicate all traces of national character and grandeur, but they invariably failed in their fiendish work, unless the process of natural decay, or some other contributory causes helped the arm of destruction.

God has taught man to speak as the father teaches his son the first rudiments of language. With this communicated language, man was immediately installed governor and king of creation. He was sent as ambassador of heaven to fulfil a very important mission, which em-

bodies his original distinctions. Reason teaches that God created man for society and society cannot exist without that most essential link of language. This is the teaching of Pope Leo XIII (1885).

History furnishes positive evidences that the three primitive races of Sem, Cham and Japhet, have divided the human race, in three distinct branches from which sprang an infinity of offshoots, each bearing energy and character. In pre-historic times, we find that pre-destined races emerged triumphant from the gigantic struggles for supremacy. From the flux and reflux of living tides, races preserved their unalterable character, as well as their indelible physical traits. Human combinations have had no voice, nor dominion over these racial cataclysms. This division and preservation of races, from times immemorial, is of natural order, i. e. it is the work of God. Race and nationality are of historic order. Their aboriginal formation is the result of succession of facts, in which the finger of God is perceptible. The indelible character of a race or nationality is oftentimes attributable to human phases, imperceptible to the eye, also to an infinity of causes over which man has no control. So if this national character be imparted to man, without human co-operative agency, it obviously follows that these national prerogatives—language, etc., etc., etc., have their origin in God.

Races and nationalities have no necessary, essential differences. The distinguishing features of the former are physical while those of the latter are moral and political. The idea of nationality implies a national character, which is the embodiment of special ideas, customs, manners, peculiarities, aptitudes, tastes and susceptibilities. The nationality of a people must have organic factors, joined together by the precious bond of language, religion and patriotism. No nationality can maintain its individuality apart from these distinguishing traits; no nation can preserve its stability without the support of these organic factors. Hence the originality of the moral life of each

nation. "*Les nationalités sont de droit divin*" (DELOCHE, page 31.)

The originality of the moral life of each nation, is not the result of physical causes, such as wars, climate, course of streams, mountain-ranges, but the immediate result of the character, with which nations have been invested. God has created no two things absolutely alike. The particular essence, that distinguishes nationalities, assumes concrete form, in the life of nations, in the shape of analogous aptitudes, identical interests, unity of thought on great many vital points. This concurring action, of physical characteristics, has a tendency to eliminate from their ranks, individuals who lack these national features. Hence the clannish spirit of the various races, distributed the world-over. Hence the reason, why American bishops ought to respect the susceptibilities of every national character. The national character, having a divine origin, must be preserved, fostered and encouraged. Is it so regarded by Irish Americans? Would that it were; peace and harmony would prevail; religion would triumph..... The most powerful factor, in the indigenous formation of any race, is *language and religion*, says Mr Blüntschli Of all the contributory forces, bearing on the formation of nationalities, language is the most influential, because of its divine origin, also because it links together the prerogatives of race, from which springs unity of action. There is in each nation a general spirit that harbors its own power. This general spirit is without the grasping hand of skilful assimilators; it is stubborn to foreign influence. Ruling Powers ought to protect the national character against the usurping force of foreigners and fusionists. A house, divided against itself, cannot stand; so disturb the national prerogatives of a nation, the empire totters and finally falls. This is the teaching of history Extend a protecting hand to national aspirations, peace and tranquillity will ensue; progress will manifest itself in every walk of life; the highest civilization will be attained. This national sentiment gives no sign of vitality, while the nation enjoys,

untrammelled, its prerogatives, but in the threatening hour of danger, it awakens to a sense of its dignity and responsibility. Force is concentrated; united action follows, and its power is felt. For the proper intelligence of this complex problem, it is eminent'y proper to be conversant with the discoveries of the most profound philosophers. De Bonald, speaking on this subject, says:— "*Ce sentiment profond* (meaning the national character) *endormi dans la jouissance uniforme et tranquille d'une longue prospérité, se réveille aux jours du malheur, et, si la terreur en comprime momentanément les effets, il se replie sur lui-même, et, caché au fond du cœur, il y vit de souvenirs, de regrets et d'espérances et n'en acquiert que plus d'énergie, semblable à ces ressorts dont on décuple la force en les resserrant. Véritable trésor qu'un gouvernement sage doit accroître avec persévérance, ménager avec habileté, employer avec mesure; principe de cette force de réaction qui peut rétablir une nation des crises des plus désespérées. Le caractère national est plus ou moins fortement prononcé selon qu'une nation est plus ou moins séparée des autres par une langue ou des mœurs particulières, qu'elle est réunie plus longtemps sous un même culte, une même dynastie, dans les mêmes limites.*" (DE BONALD.)

It is impossible to suppose; it is even repugnant to reason to suppose that the existence of nationalities depends upon human combinations, because nature had no voice in the formation of nations. Consequently no earthly power, be it Civil or Ecclesiastical, should hamper races in the legitimate enjoyment of their national prerogatives. Disorders must inevitably follow all attempts of encroachment. Should there be, in any skeptical mind, doubts, regarding the divine origin of language and nationality, we would advise him to ponder over the emphatic testimony of St. Augustine:—

"*Le langage, conféré à l'homme, est un don céleste, créé sans lui et hors de lui.*" (S. AUG.) Every race bears the seal of God's majesty and no power below has a right to interfere with any race, without incurring the Divine wrath. Such interference would be a positive violation of the natural

law. Scripture tells us that God created man; divided the earth among his descendants; therefore nations cannot be the result of blind hazard, nor an effect independent of the primary moving cause, towards which all effects must be traced up. This primary creating cause is God, to whom we are indebted for language and nationalities. In the universal plan of creation, each nation is assigned a mission congenial to its character. Creation is symmetrical, so races, being component parts of that composite whole, must be in harmony with creation itself. Creation is an emanation of Divine Wisdom, so also are the component parts, together with their essential prerogatives. Nations ought not to be regarded as blind agglomerations of men, separated from each other by mountain chains, rivers, boundary lines, or differences of race and language. They have a soul, dogmas, an altar, a vocation, a divine mission. History is concurrent. Like the Jews of Babylon, they must be faithful to their calling, otherwise they will incur the wrath of God.

Modern history reveals the fact that despotic governments invariably begin their tyrannical work of assimilation by religious persecutions. They sap-dry the fountain head of faith, by abolishing language. When these two national ingredients, these vital factors, are destroyed, death is at hand. The language of the oppressor is imposed, and the oppressed live to mourn over the loss of ancestral inheritance. Despair and despondency overtake them and schisms are recorded in the history of the Church of God. Persecutions to be successful must have the strong arm of the law to annihilate national prerogatives. Should civil power relax its grasp, national aspirations, held in abeyance in the bosom of the family or at the foot of the altar of sacrifice, will brave tyranny up to the day set apart for general distribution of justice. Nations place their hope in God! They entrust themselves in the hands of Divine Mercy, which assist the counsels of the powerful and permits iniquities, but, never permits iniquities to triumph indefinitely. This principle moved Doëllinger to exclaim:

" *L'oppression d'une nationalité est un crime contre un ordre établi de Dieu, crime qui reçoit tôt ou tard son châtiment.*" (DOELLINGER.) It is well for assimilators to meditate upon these words of Doëllinger, before the day of retributive justice.....

If nations, in spite of persecutions, preserve their language and religion, says Villemain to the Polands, in the darkest hour of their history, they shall never die. " *Qu'ils gardent leur langue et leur foi et qu'ils prient, et leur nationalité ne périra pas.*" (VILLEMAIN.) Were a nation in mourning attire, says le comte de Montalembert to his bosom friend, general Schrynecki, it could revive its nationality by clinging tenaciously to its language and religion. This is fully in keeping with the teaching of Revelation. " *The bow of the mighty is overcome and the weak are girt with strength. The Lord killeth and maketh alive..... He raiseth up the needy from the dust and lifted up the poor from the dung-hill that he may sit with the princes and hold the throne of glory.*" (I KINGS II, 4.) If the great God permits tyrans to put nations to death, he can also revive and restore them to life. Therefore leave nations undisturbed in the enjoyment of their national prerogatives and society will expand under the balmy breath of liberty. "The means of saving a nation," says Balmes, "are to be found in great and generous ideas, deeply rooted in the heart of the people; in feelings engraved in their hearts by the action of time, by the influence of powerful institutions, by ancient manners and customs; in fine, in that unity of religious thought, which makes a whole people, as one man. Then the past is united with the present, the present is connected with the future; then arises in the mind that enthusiasm which is the source of great deeds; then are found disinterestedness, energy, and constancy, because hearts are great and generous." (BALMES, *European Civilization*, page 76.) Therefore, it follows that nations can save themselves from annihilation and preserve their religion provided they are not disturbed in the enjoyment of their national prerogatives. Why should

Rt Rev. Bishops of the New-England States, overlook this principle, laid down by the great Spanish philosopher and worthy priest of God, is something in the nature of a mystery! Why should they close their eyes before the guiding light of history and philosophy, is something beyond my comprehension! To put it mild, there must be some lurking force at work.

Do not hamper races in the discharge of their sacred calling nor in the fulfilment of their mission, and the Church will witness a prodigious, if not a miraculous development. Souls, irrespective of clime or color, will anxiously await for the day of heavenly retribution. Originally nations came from God, with talents entrusted to them for fructification. These talents were multiplied, in virtue of a policy of Ecclesiastical toleration, and nations rendered an account of their stewardship. Their reward was heaven. Sweet were the words of Jesus Christ. "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." (MATH. XXV-21.) Give us liberty, and French-Canadians will prove worthy of their title of Catholics. May the Rt Rev. Bishops remember that our origin, as individuals and as a nation, is divine, and as such we have a right to liberty of actions, in the pursuit of national happiness. Mgr Freppel says:—

"La religion concentre les forces qui unissent les nations, sans écarter les caractères qui les distinguent. Pas d'événement plus funeste pour l'Eglise catholique que la ruine de la nationalité polonaise."

The great prelate speaks the mind of the Church when he says that religion has for object to unite nations together without depriving them of their distinctive characteristics. If perchance national prerogatives are abolished, religion must inevitably receive a mortal wound. Consequently bishops and priests, who are leaving no stone unturned to assimilate French-Canadians, at the cost of their national prerogatives, are striking a fatal blow at the Church of God. This wound will, undoubtedly, prove costly, for religion will lose thousands of souls who would otherwise have been

chosen members of God's kingdom of glory. "*Omnes homines vult salvos fieri.*" (TIM. II-4.) Bishops must not contravene the expressed designs of God; any opposition will prove disastrous before the judgment seat of the Almighty. God though infinitely merciful, is infinitely just. His mercy does not and cannot exclude his justice. "*Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis.*" (HEB. X-31.)



CHAPTER II.

Language and Nationality in the light of History.

"History partakes of the nature of prophecy. (St. Aug., City of God, lib. xviii—chap. xi).

In the preceding chapter, we have demonstrated the divine origin of language and nationality. The national prerogatives must not be hampered, for social disorders ensue, and the Church invariably mourns over the loss of her children. Language and religion are so intimately connected together, that they are called essential factors in the formation of a nation. Abolish language, faith disappears; society is convulsed, the Church suffers.

In this chapter, we shall examine to what extent despots, tyrans were successful in the pursuit of their assimilative work, as a natural inference to what degree the Creator permitted these rebels to frustrate His designs. If history shows that assimilators and fusionists performed their destructive work with impunity, then it will be proper to deny the divine origin of language and nationality; if, on the other hand, assimilators failed in their passionate attempts, then history will furnish additional weight, bearing on the divine character of language and race.

Our recent brochure "*Germanization and Americanization Compared*" contains historical facts, tending to show that national prerogatives are ineradicable when pressure and violence are applied. The *laissez-faire* policy is productive of most satisfactory results. These prerogatives, being of divine origin, it follows that they are never entirely obliterated. God is indestructible.....Before introducing

historical facts to prove that a policy of oppression has always proven abortive, whereas a policy of toleration has ever been pregnant with satisfactory results, it is well to remark that our historical parallels have been repudiated, as having no bearing on the point at issue. Two eminent scholars, Messrs Thorne of "*The Globe Review*" of New-York City and Mr. Preuss of "*The Review*" of St. Louis have taken exception to the merit of my historical precedents. The former says, in the May number (1896) of his bright and spicy Review, (Vol. vi, May 1896, No. 22, page 203). "I do not agree with Mr. St. Laurent that the case of the French-Canadians in America, in Canada or in the United States, is at all analogous to the case of the various race nationalities under the Roman Empire, or to the cases of Alsace and Lorraine, either under French capture and tyranny in the first instance, or under German capture in the second instance; and I think he weakens his facts and his argument by making such comparisons. Ancient Rome had no religion worth naming, and therefore, could well afford to be tolerant of all forms of religion, and in Alsace-Lorraine it was not, as indeed it was not in old Rome, a question of religion or supernatural direction, but a question of temporal and very undivine "*laissez-faire*" in old Rome and a question of Prussian life or death in Alsace-Lorraine. Mr. Arthur Preuss, the talented editor of "*The Review*" concurs. These two polished and refined scholars are friends of ours, and we feel reluctant to differ with them. In our humble opinion our attitude is tenable. We will, therefore, endeavor to elucidate our mind. Before introducing new facts, in support of our proposition, we will explain what we mean.....We found in the history of the Roman Empire the admirable results of a *laissez-faire* policy. Toleration and equity proved to be the most powerful and efficient ingredients of social advancement. In the beginning, Roman law treated the elementary rights of man, in a national sense, or rather as civic principles and privileges; and this narrow interpretation broadened out into a universal system

of equal rights for all. None but Roman citizens could enjoy the privileges of citizenship. This *barbarous* groundwork of civic *privileges*, full of galling iniquities, became a complete system of *natural equity*. Rome brought all nations to recognize but one law, which was the result of *good sense* and not imposed by *victorious nations*. Rome was not only a mighty conqueror, but a skilful assimilator of races. By comparing Rome with the other chief lights of civilization, we may discover wherein lies the secret of her power of agglomeration. Athens was not acceptable to her tributaries. They revolted and her empire passed like a dream. Antioch, the Queen of the East, harbored in her bosom all races. Greek and oriental civilization were united in a healthy sisterhood. Antioch with all her wealth and glory could produce nothing beneficial for the human race. Alexandria prospered and rejoiced in her prosperity, for one thousand years, and, finally, fell under the Arab destroyer. What did she do for humanity? She left no heritage to the human race..... Rome excelled Athens, Antioch and Alexandria. She won her fame by imparting her own rights and privileges to the conquered. Her breadth of view; her policy of toleration; her magnanimous behavior towards all nations dwelling within her frontiers, contain the secret of her power. Rome, like a good mother, opened her arms to all nations. She discarded might for right and extended her assimilative force over Gaul and Western Europe. By a policy of toleration and equity she moulded, civilized and Romanized hundreds of races into the majesty of imperial unity. That Queen mother of thousands of cities, bred, nurtured, milked, supplied equal-rights, out of her breast, to all nations living within her confines. At last they became full-fledged Roman citizens. Had they, as in days gone by, to relinquish their national character? They preserved intact their prerogatives, says Champigny. Rome left them in the perfect enjoyment of their religion, language and national peculiarities, only requiring of each nationality to take up arms, in case of

war, to protect the majesty of the Empire. Conquerors and conquered became warm friends because a *laissez-faire* policy was adopted; a policy of toleration; a policy of equal-rights was applied, and hence complete assimilation was the result. Hundreds of races were proud to be placed on an equal footing with Roman citizens. For two hundred years, the policy of Augustus prevailed, prosperity and internal peace were the results. Then followed a period of two hundred years of decline. It cost eighty years to blend together races into peaceful homogeneity, but the destructive force of oppression undermined, within very few years, the very foundation of the Empire. A policy of oppression will reduce to naught, within few years, what a *laissez-faire* policy required years to build up. Nature is stubborn to oppression, whether in the civil or ecclesiastical domain. Why did Rome adopt a tactic of toleration? because her history made it clear as light, that she could never blend together, into a grand homogeneous whole, the various nations dwelling within her borders. She tried oppression and failed. Rome adopted a *laissez-faire* policy and was successful in her blending process. This is the idea we had in our mind when we wrote "*Germ. and Amer. compared.*" We alluded to both religious and civil liberty, as being the most efficient incentive of assimilation. The policy of toleration was applied to all indiscriminately. In the case of Alsace-Lorraine, we do not question the right of Prussia to impose her language etc., we simply look at the results achieved under a policy of oppression and Prussian blood. Rome was successful, under a *laissez-faire* policy; Prussia failed utterly, under her policy of oppression: which is the better?

The greatest living historian, James Bryce teaches that a *laissez-faire* policy is the only one available to assimilate nationalities. "No quarrels of race or religion disturbed that calm, for all national distinctions were becoming merged in the idea of a common Empire. The gradual extension of Roman citizenship, through the "*colonizæ*," the working of the equalized and equalizing Roman law, the

even pressure of the government on all *subjects*, the movement of population caused by commerce, were steadily assimilating the various peoples. Emperors, who were for the most part natives of the provinces, cared little to cherish Italy or conciliate Rome: it was their policy to keep open, for every subject, a career by whose *freedom* they had themselves *risen to greatness*, and to recruit the senate from the most illustrious families in the cities of Gaul, Spain and Asia. The edict by which Caracalla extended, to all *nations*, the *rights* of Roman citizenship, though prompted by no motives of *kindness*, proved in the end a boon. Annihilating *legal distinctions*, it completed the work which *trade, literature* could not accomplish."

That the policy of toleration was the most beneficent in ancient Rome we have but to consult Edward Gibbon's "*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. "They enjoyed the religion of their ancestors, whilst in civil honors and advantages, they were exalted, by just degrees, to an equality with their conquerors. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord." (Vol. I, p. 73 et 74.) Again by the policy of toleration, admirable results were attained:—"Their partial distinctions were obliterated, and they insensibly coalesced into one great nation, united by language, manners, and civil institutions, and equal to the weight of a powerful empire. The republic gloried in her generous policy, and was frequently rewarded by the merit and services of her adopted sons." (Page 878.) It is well to observe that no coercive measures were applied to compel foreigners to speak the language of their adopted country. The various races were permitted to foster, unmolested, their racial characteristics; in a word they were subject to no restraint; a very liberal policy was adopted and consequently foreigners readily learned and spoke the language of their adopted country. Were French-Canadians of the New-England States subject to a similar policy of toleration and equal-rights, assimilation could be brought about. They would learn the language of their adopted country, speak it, and become American citizens, in the strict sense

of the term. Rt. Rev. Bishops, abetted by their clergy, repudiate the lessons of history and philosophy of nations, to satisfy their ambition. National prejudices are so strong, that all other considerations are discarded. Oppressive measures are habitually widening the gap that separate the two nationalities, even in religious matters. If this policy of narrowmindedness does not give way to a liberal policy of justice and equal rights, gloomy days are in store for the Church, at a nigh future.... If any doubt still lingers in the mind of any man, regarding the efficiency of the *laissez-faire* policy, we advise him to peruse the tenth lecture of Guizot's *History of Civilization in Europe*, page 263.

T. W. Allies, "*Formation of Christendom*" teaches the same doctrine. He holds that the Romans successfully grinded together the various elements by a *laissez-faire* policy. We claim, therefore, that we are entitled to the inference drawn in our first brochure, as well as to the application of the principle involved.....

This long digression brought to a close, we revert to our subject. Nations, like individuals, have their own peculiar instincts and prerogatives, which they have inherited from their Creator. This point has been demonstrated in the foregoing chapter. Psychologists are unanimous on this subject. Conquests, legislative enactments, brute force may coalesce and bring to submission individuals and nations; these forces may suffice to stifle, apparently, the voice of national prerogatives, but, like a cork under pressure in water, these racial sentiments will spring up to action as soon as force is removed. Arbitrary power and force cannot obliterate the work of Providence, that gave nationalities inherent peculiarities, characteristic features. No earthly power can remodel nature: as it emanated from the hands of God, so shall it remain. Annihilation is not success: on the contrary it is a most deplorable failure. Nations, by their very make up, are incompatible to a complete surrender of their national characteristics. History is concurrent. The process of fusion is

fairly successful, under a policy of toleration; races are blended together; they live in peace until their distinctive prerogatives are touched to the quick, then follows a crisis. There is in every race, in case of oppression, a solidarity of feeling, which of itself, can produce gigantic wars, and overthrow governments. Rome succeeded in Romanizing hundreds of races, by a policy of toleration, but they all preserved their national character. Racial differences remained prominent; nevertheless, the many members were equally solicitous for the prosperity of central power. This external unity of feelings and sentiments is the outgrowth of an entirely internal one, without which no government, law, or order can be maintained.

The Empire to gain control and to bring to a peaceful submission the hundreds of races, had to sanction the various forms of worship. "*Each nationality enjoyed the plenitude of liberty, worshipped their gods, pursuant to their racial customs and in their respective languages. They had priests of their nationality, and by them were educated in the language of their ancestors.*" (S. AUG., TERT. Apol. 24.) Had they been molested, they would have opposed Roman aggrandizement. They contributed to the splendor of the Empire, without curtailing their national prerogatives. This is the immediate result of historical researches.

The laws of nature are a living, perpetual proof that God demands beauty and variety,—*unity in multiplicity and multiplicity in unity.* In each kingdom of nature we find a common character or parent stock with an endless variety. The orchard, the wild-woods, plantations, flowers, all have their fibrous feet fixed in the earth, from which vegetative life is drawn, yet out of that parental nutriment, what an infinitude of properties and appearances are derived!

Creation is the prototype of mankind. What is true in physiology is equally true in ethnography. A healthy assimilation is desirable, but an irrational, passionate effort to produce uniformity, to satisfy greedy motives, is condemnable. It cannot stand the test of scientific inves-

tigation. What is most desirable is sympathy and not uniformity. This latter quality can never be acquired without self sacrifice and self denials. A healthy fusion never produces the loss of individuality, with its train of accessories, and this loss must be carefully avoided : all threatening agencies must be scrupulously eliminated. Man ought never to run in opposition to God's designs. Even, in the case, when the various elements are apt to assimilation, then the process is slow and gradual. The ruling power, supervising the act of fusion, must carefully avoid all undue influence. Friction is dangerous ! All attempts to hasten the work of amalgamation, have always proven abortive. Nature is indeed very stubborn to oppression !.....

The Roman Empire, for years, was at war with nations ! After the conquest, the peaceful hand of Augustus applied, to all nations indiscriminately, the policy of toleration and equal-rights. This process of *laissez faire* pacified the irritated and the conquered ; brought the nations to the proper intelligence and realization of their social condition and convinced them that they were true Roman citizens. They lived in peace and enjoyed, to their heart's content, their racial peculiarities. To hasten transformation is to retard the progress of the undertaking and perhaps to destroy all chances of success. This we infer from the very laws of nature.

The most delicate garden rose will grow and flourish upon a wild rose stock ; and the wild rose will, perhaps, grow and flourish upon the stock of a delicate garden rose ; but in these and all similar cases, the scion will never do more than receive nutriment, support and strenght from the parent stock, and will never become identical with its nature. Again roses of various kinds will grow together upon a wild thorn stock ; but never any flower except roses. No pears will grow upon an apple-tree stock ; no apple upon a pear-tree stock. An occasional exception, if it appeared, would only be a garden monster. It is so throughout the vegetable and animal

kingdom. Grafts, made contrary to natural laws, wither and die ; or if too strong, they destroy the parent stock. So it is with nations..... It is a healthy assimilation and not an irrational effort to discover and produce sameness, an exchange of ideas and good feelings and not mere echoes and reproductions, arbitrary and hereditary opinions and customs. Even the healthy fusion of different nations, is seldom the loss of identity to each, nor should it be sought.....

The highest perfection in man, as in music, must be found in various harmonies, and not in unison ! An unchangeable or unvaried condition of a nation reproducing the past, and admitting no new element from other nations, is certain to lead to deterioration, which, if continued through centuries, ends in a general imbecility of mind and body. This is peculiarly exemplified in the Chinese. The ingress of the Tartars would have been of the highest benefit, could their influence have been well received and some degree of fusion of the two races, been the result. But the inequality of the Chinese was too positive, the difference of mental and physical character too great to admit of assimilation. The consequences have been that the Chinese have remained what they have always been and yet more incapable of energy, and a Tartar dynasty with its Tartar armies, has long ruled over them, leaving no prospect of any change in the people and their institutions. But where the elements of two or more people coming together, are not too unequal and the character of the national institutions, under which they assemble, is favorable, assimilation and the law of fusion, even in this case, can only be accomplished by slow and gradual process. The original elements of the Roman people, as shown by Niebuhr, were derived from different races, the patrician caste and the great Roman commonalty re-acted upon each other during the whole course of their history. The fusion of the two, says Dr Verity, " being completed only by the establishment of plebeian consulship, and of intermarriage between the castes, the connubium of the Canuleian Law."

A healthy fusion is most desirable, "*various fishes make a good chowder.*" "History attests that the various races, into which it has pleased God to divide mankind, cannot be indiscriminately conglomerated without entailing upon the entire body chronic resolutions, with their attendant evils." DR VERITY. Would to God that our over-zealous Americanizers would remember this lesson of history. French-Canadians would be spared from humiliation and religion could continue to flourish, but no, race prejudices are so deeply rooted, that the greed of individuals is satisfied to the detriment of religion. Poor human nature, how miserable and wretched thou art! Nature is selfish.....

God created nations with differential prerogatives, and these national characteristics are the grand work of future greatness. The ties that bind us with the past ought to be cherished as a precious legacy. "Do you wish, says Balmes, *to preserve the great and august monuments of our ancestors' piety and love of national character, only as a severe and eloquent reproach.*" (BALMES.) We, French-Canadians, are proud of our history! We cherish our ancestors' greatness and never shall we consent to lose our national character. Strong with the philosophy of history we shall pursue our career, independently of our racial enemies. The beauty of a mosaic depends on the variety of colors and pieces, so in the grand mosaic of the creation, the French-Canadians will contribute their national colors.....



CHAPTER III.

Nationality and the warning facts of History.

"Si parva magnis compovere licet."

We have laid down in the foregoing chapter the principle upon which depends the most efficient process of assimilation. This principle was applied to amalgamate the many races embodied in the Roman Empire. That principle is the policy of toleration. The *laissez-faire* policy was productive of most salutary results, whereas the policy of oppression, as in the case of Alsace-Lorraine, has proven abortive. To strengthen our position, regarding the accuracy of the above reasoning, it is eminently proper to have recourse to history. History repeats itself and deceives not... The voice of history reproduces the past and therefore ought to be, to impartial and unbiased minds, an infallible guide, in dealing with future problems. "History partakes of the nature of prophecy." (S. Aug.).

How great and fatal were the errors of Napoleon ! How signal and unvariable were his failures ! He forced French institutions upon Italy—excellent in themselves in so many respects, and undeniably equal to or superior to anything, the Italians, as a nation, have been striving ever since that time to obtain, while in place of narrow minded and capricious enactments, he substituted steady enlightened laws and equal administration. But the institutions and laws were French and not Italian, and the national spirit of Italy seized the first opportunity of casting them aside. History repeats itself ! What hope can passionate fusionists entertain, of final success, in their oppressive policy of Americanizing French Canadians ? It was much the same with regard to Switzerland.

However good the institutions and laws enforced on the cantons by Napoleon, they were not Swiss, but French, and they had been forced upon them. What do our over-patriotic Americanizers think of the above two historical testimonies? Our Right Reverend Bishops may cherish the idea that it would be easier to administer parishes, if the English language alone was spoken in the church. That idealism is undoubtedly true, nevertheless we must reckon with history. In the above historical incidents we learn that Napoleon failed in his undertaking because he adopted an oppressive policy, so will Bishops fail, if they persist in the application of iniquitous measures to make French-Canadians Americans. Nature is reluctant and stubborn to oppression! National apostasy is a crime of which, may God spare us, we shall never be guilty. We have seen, endured days of persecution, but we came out of the struggle with victory perched on our banner. They may persecute us, because of our national character, but they will only succeed in driving some few thousands away from the church. We shall remain true to our forefathers, and Bishops ought to treat us as kindly and charitably as the Irish have been and are now treated in Canada by French-Canadian Bishops... "*Multum in parvo*". It was not very different with the Rhine provinces. Twenty years of power, and the constant residence of the French soldiers, merchants, artists, actors, visitors, induced a considerable amenity; the exchange of courtesies and the cultivation of mutual interest. The Rhinish provinces came to like the French individually and socially, and the French language had spread through all classes. Still, all this was very much on the surface; the elements of assimilation were wanting, or wanted more time; and on the first political convulsion, the Prussians threw aside all foreign influence, that affected their nationality. National prerogatives and aspirations were shocked at the sight of French imposition, and failure to assimilate was the result. In some sections of the United States, some French-Canadians, since the civil

war, have forsaken their language, fell away from the Church. This superficial expression of national apostasy, is full of deception ! We read that on the national feast of *St-Jean-Baptiste*, or in general conventions, such as were held in Rutland, Nashua, and Chicago, these drifting creatures rekindled, in their hearts, the fire of patriotism. They took part in the proceedings of the Convention, delivered sentimental speeches and gave, to the world, a convincing testimony that their love of national prerogatives was not dead, but sleeping. At the first favorable opportunity they displayed their love of ancestral inheritance and national vigor.

They were not Americans but French-Canadians speaking the language of their adopted country. Their heart and soul is for Canada. Were they thoroughly assimilated ? Sureley not ; they reverted to the fold, happy to revive the memory and souvenirs of by gone days. Like the Jews of old who, with air distraught, sat down by Babylon's wailing waters to hang their harps upon the willow boughs, and weeping cried : "*How can we sing our songs in a strange land ?*" (Ps. 136,4.) When these Canadians were induced to forsake their national prerogatives, they remembered the history of their ancestors and replied in the sense of Jewish captives. We shall never for-ake our country, our history and our national character ! Peruse the reports of the various conventions, general and state, for confirmatory evidences In St. Domingo the attempt wrought the worst results ; a constant resistance, covert and open, and bloodshed and tyranny were all that came of it, until the power of France was abolished ; and all her unsuitable enactments, even where superior to those which had previously existed, were scattered to the winds by the equally infuriate white, black and mulatto population. The national elements were repugnant, and the inferior felt as much outraged by the violent attempts at subversion and elevation as though the vilest depredations had been put upon it. And, in one sense, they really were

degrading, because intended arbitrarily to supersede the admirable institutions of a noble spirit of the native race, Toussaint Louverture, whose treatment and fate is probably the darkest spot on the character of Napoleon. Another historical fact brightening our hopes for the future; strengthening us in the present struggle. We belong to a race of warriors! Our forefathers fought for liberty, religious and civil, for nearly 150 years. French-Canadians are accustomed to wars and persecutions; so our courage is high-strung.

Nor was there any real progress made by the nationality of the French in Spain. Internally disordered and miserably misruled as Spain had so long been, a most beautiful country, which required a good and powerful master, and where the possession of enlightened institutions and fixed laws, ably administered might have been expected to induce the greatest tendency to assimilation; and where also the elements of the two nations were sufficiently equal to have rendered a fusion of the two races very possible to occur, in due process of years; so far from the Spanish nation showing any desire to avail itself of the superiority of internal governments set over it by France, the people rose in guerilla warfare; they called in the assistance of England, and it may truly be said that this movement, in Spain, was the latent cause of the final overthrow of Napoleon. What a striking instance of God's opposition to a complete assimilation at the cost of national character! Man proposes but God disposes. Napoleon had resolved to subjugate nations, impose French laws, assimilate all nations, but God quieted his ambition and humiliated him in his pride. The elements, in Spain, were ripe for amalgamation. A policy of toleration was applied and in spite of all, Spain shook off the French yoke, simply because the national prerogatives of the Spanish people are opposed to national apostasy.—Spaniards are proud of their national character—France failed to assimilate the Spaniards. If a *laissez-faire* policy has proven abortive how can a policy of oppression,

repugnant to nature, prove successful? Surely Right Reverend Bishops cannot and ought not to cradle the thought that, with coercive measures, they will ever be successful in their Americanizing process. By despotic measures they will rouse up national susceptibilities and provoke the people to open revolt. By refusing to meet the just demands of the people, begging for pastors of their nationality, the Bishops are stirring them on to rebellion. For heaven's sake, may the authorities of the Church adopt a policy of justice and equal rights! The catholic population of America is offended at the turn of affairs at Danielsonville, Ct. What could we say of that famous *assemblée de paroisse*? Strange to say Ecclesiastical authorities have allowed the pending difficulties to drift before civil tribunals. Family quarrels will now be trumpeted, by the press the world-over. The catholic community will receive a severe shock and religion will suffer. Poor religion! were it not divine, it would have ceased to exist centuries ago. Had Right Reverend Bishop Tierney been mindful of the teaching and philosophy of history, regarding the best policy of assimilation, the Church would not have to deplore the sad occurrence of a whole population in open revolt against their superior. The people are not supposed to be conversant with history, the guiding star of ages and generations, and unfortunately they are liable to yield to passion, to make mistakes, as in the present case, but Bishops have no excuse to proffer!

This deeply rooted opposition to our national character and language, is a sentiment attributable to race prejudices. This ungenerous, uncharitable thought is condemned by St. Paul. Before God, such feelings as race prejudices, are uncatholic, unchristian and deserving of condemnation. Thank God! The Rt Rev. Prelates of these United States are not all in favor of this Americanizing policy. We are not expected to give credit to whom credit is due, but we, nevertheless, feel, in conscience, bound to give currency to the expressed views of Bishop Spalding of Peoria. The editor and proprietor of *La Vérité* of Quebec

crossing the Atlantic, on board of the American liner *Paris* met the Rt Rev. gentleman. We now quote Mr. J. P. Tardivel's own words :—

" Parmi les passagers se trouve Mgr Spalding, évêque de Peoria (Illinois). J'ai eu l'honneur de causer longuement avec Sa Grandeur, l'autre soir. Mgr Spalding a fait ses études théologiques en Belgique et en Allemagne et parle très bien le français. J'ai pu constater, avec satisfaction, qu'il n'appartient pas à l'école des AMÉRICANISATEURS à outrance. Il s'est exprimé très ouvertement sur ce chapitre, et m'a déclaré qu'il désire vivement voir les diverses nationalités établies aux Etats-Unis garder leur langue et leurs traditions. " Il n'est nullement nécessaire, dit-il, pour être bon citoyen de la république, d'abandonner le parler de ses ancêtres. " Il ne cache pas son admiration pour la France catholique et le Canada français. J'ai toujours regretté, m'a-t-il affirmé, que la France n'ait pas envoyé deux cent mille colons en Amérique ; la moitié de notre continent serait aujourd'hui français, et ce serait tant mieux. "

Bishop Spalding has in a condensed form, expressed the true catholic doctrine of the Church, such as we find it, in the Epistles of St. Paul. The Apostle of the Gentiles is our guide, our strength, and God is our hope.

Turning again to Spain, what did she do in former times ? to say nothing of the early conquests and colonization made by the Portuguese. Confining ourselves to one example, could anything be more striking, in proof of all we have said and suggested, concerning nationality, than the whole history of the Spaniards in Mexico ? The Spaniards got possession of the country, crowded the chief cities with their own people, and set up new institutions and laws. But instead of any fusion of the nations taking place, the natives gradually withdrew before the ingress of foreigners. till a half caste of the two races constituted the chief inhabitants of all the cities and towns, and the aborigines or Mexican Indians took the woods and valleys and river borders, and there they remained apart to this day. Their ancient language is

lost, it is true, and they all speak a sort of Spanish patois, but, with this exception, there has scarcely been any elemental change in the race up to date. During the whole of the war for independence, against old Spain, the national insignia, on the Mexican banner, of the eagle with a serpent writhing in its beak, was an apt illustration of the struggle; the more so, as it terminated in the last folds of the serpent being torn off from its neck, and dashed away. But in the war with North America, it is melancholy, to observe how the insignia is reversed, as to its truth,—for Mexico has been the bright serpent seized upon as a prize by the strong bird of prey, and who writhed hopelessly in the grasp of its fierce invader. Can any one doubt the result of the conquest? Mexico will fall before American grasp, notwithstanding its spirit of hatred and resistance, and will eventually become one of its most dis-united States; in fact, (as Ireland is to England) its greatest difficulty. Fusion in the two races is impossible; assimilation equally impossible. Anglo-American institutions and laws will be forced on a people totally unsuited and averse to them, and in the end the inhabitants of the cities and towns will be composed of conquerors and of a caste between the Anglo-Americans and Spanish Mexicans, while native Indians become fewer and fewer in number, and, at last, are extinguished; even as it will be with the various tribes of North American Indians, who are so rapidly fading away before the stern trading progress of a remorseless and in some respect, a very questionable civilization.

The conduct of England, with regard New Zealand, has not been characterized by a wise recognition of the peculiarities of a different nationality. If we only take one instance which, some few years ago, occurred, and which produced such contest and bloodshed, we shall see at once that the sufficiently apparent character of the aborigines being a totally distinct race from the settlers, was not at all taken into consideration. A New Zealand savage steals, instead of delivering him into the hands of their

chief, he is brought to trial before English tribunals and severely punished according to English laws. All sorts of misunderstandings, outrages and atrocities occurred in consequence. This is the immediate result of a blind, bigoted policy of oppression. A threatening cloud is hanging low over India! The inhabitants, so far from being a nation or people, are a congeries of peoples differing widely in blood, physique, character, language and religion. At present the army is under British pay, but in years to come a change may be brought about and a revolution will follow. Why? because the national sympathies of the people are overlooked by British officials. This history and philosophy of nations must be scrupulously studied. As in the case of New Zealand and India, unless Bishops have scrupulous respects for our national prerogatives, a religious revolution may disturb the peace of the Church in these United States. "*Abyssus abyssum invocat.*" (Ps. 41.)

Of the treatment of Poland by Russia very little need be said. The Emperor may have his massacre of Polish noblemen, and ladies to be flogged, and distribute the population; send captives in chains and barefooted to work in the mines of Siberia; and cause the name of Poland to be erased from the maps; there is a living soul amidst all these things, a national physiology ordained by Providence, which no earthly power or even despotism can touch. Poland is not yet dead, and never until death occurs, can it become Russia. Another instance of coercive measures to crown one's purpose! What is true of Poland is equally true of French Canadians. Rt. Rev. Bishops may abuse us; refuse us priests of our nationality; refuse to have French taught in the parochial schools, etc., etc., all that is only superficial. The national character of the French Canadians is of divine origin, and no tyrannical policy can make of us Irish Americans. Our destiny is in the hands of God..... "*In manus tuas, Domine*" (Ps. XXX. 6.)

Something of a less exterminating nature has been attempted by Austria with regard to Italy. Dis-united as

the Italians were, so that the states collectively can hardly be called a substantive nation, there was nevertheless a strong spirit of nationality in the States individually; so strong yearning and unconquerable, that it was impossible to believe that the Austrians should long continue to hold possession of populations, with whom they can never approach to the remotest assimilation. Nature has placed a gulf between the two nations. The institutions and laws which Vienna forced upon the Lombardo Venetians and other provinces, never worked in any way except under the pressure of immediate force, and at every interval, when this force is withdrawn or could be hurled aside, the national spirit mounted into the air. In vain, therefore, have been all the long continued oppressions; in vain the victories and vaunts of the old general Radetzki. The two nations were born asunder; they are not united by heaven; nor is all the power of man able to join them, ever, though all the infernal deities of war be called to aid. More substantial food for reflection, which we gracefully submit to the Bishops of the New England States..... French Canadians and Irish Americans were born asunder and no earthly power can assimilate them. This is a lesson that ought to deter over zealous fusionists. Partial assimilation might be brought about by a *laissez-faire* policy, but so long as we are treated with contempt; treated unmercifully, unjustly, so long shall our people allow the national spirit to mount into the air. Again history is emphatic.....

The Bohemians are a nobler race of people than the Austrians and naturally averse to assimilate with them, far less endure their yoke. It will be recollected that the Bohemians were very early strugglers for civil and religious liberty. Next to Wicliffe in England, we must place John Huss of Bohemia as one of the most worthy specimen of bravery and manhood: It is true he is an heresiarch: his doctrine was condemned by the council of Constance, nevertheless in the eyes of civil society, he was a hero, and history is proud to relate his achievements. The

national spirit of a country that gives birth to such men, can form no elementary alliance with Austrians. That there is something more in the people at large of the latter country, than their old despotic system of government has hitherto afforded any fair means for development by individual energies, seems probable, if we may judge by events.

The national spirit of Bohemians is far superior to that of the Austrians. The difference renders the assimilation all the more difficult. The same, to a considerable degree, may be said of the Hungarians. They are a different and superior race of people and wish to form no part nor alliance with Austrian bayonets, far less to be subject to the old ideas of an advanced philosophy of government which those banded instruments represent. Again history shows the sad results of oppression to suppress national prerogatives and bring about assimilation. Surely these facts of history ought to convince our Rt Rev. Bishops that they will fail in their work of Americanizing the French-Canadians. For years, we have suffered under British pressure and despotism of the worst kind: what does history say of England's success? We withstood together, with our dear brothers of Acadia, the mad onslaught of John Bull. At all times we faced oppression and fought for our rights and remained essentially French. How can Rt Rev. Bishops expect to meet with better success, is an unfathomable secret? England had the strong arm of the law to execute her iniquitous policy; our Bishops have weaker instruments of oppression. England's assimilating force was crushed to the ground by our manly resistance, and to-day, thank God, we are a strong and healthy nation. Let us conclude with a warning. If this policy of oppression is not discarded, history will relate, to generations yet unborn, sorrowful tales such as were chronicled during the first centuries of persecutions.

We have spoken of the national spirit that animates the nations of Europe, let us now take a cursory glance at the state of things in Ireland and England.

It is quite certain that there are many marked and strong national peculiarities, in existence in Ireland, which are of a singularly different kind to those of England. The same may be said of Scotland. But it has fallen out, through a long course of events, that the peculiarities of Ireland and England, instead of working to a national union by assimilation and a gradual fusion of the races, have been antagonistic, so that they are as far asunder, and their elements as hopelessly dis-united as ever. The feeling, in Ireland, has risen to a desire of rebellion. *Will our Right Reverend Bishops meditate on the cause of this state of things, and they will have an accurate idea of the feeling prevailing in New England among our compatriots.* No one will blame Ireland for her noble attitude: she was made the foot-stool of English ambition and tyranny; she was justified in fostering and defending her honor and integrity. Though, we are French-Canadian, our sympathies are for Ireland, and our compatriots are again ready to espouse her cause. In Canada, Irish and French-Canadians fought, side by side, irrespective of national feelings. We fought for free institutions, liberty and our inherent rights to be dealt with as free men. The year 1837-38 is pregnant with deeds of heroism. In the cemetery of La-Côte-des-Neiges, tomb-stones bearing the inscriptions of the O'Collaghans and Traceys, etc., bear evidence that no race prejudices then existed. Irish and French mingled their forces to check the invading wave of English intolerance and dark despotism. Many a times, we have spent, with our wife and children, hours and hours, perusing the inscriptions that revealed the past and inspired us with energy and courage for the future. Walking over the graves; trampling upon the dust of by-gone heroes, our heart was filled with emotions, and our eyes gave expressions to our feelings. Forbear readers, we are drifting into personalities! The sentiments that overflowed the hearts of these heroes, are sung by the celebrated Irish bard, Thomas Moore. We take great pleasure to quote these lines, that Bishops and

priests of the United States may compare the present with the past :

" Shall I ask the brave soldier who fought by my side
In the cause of mankind, if our creeds agree ?
Shall I give up the friends that I've valued and tried
If he kneels not before the same altar with me ? "

THOMAS MOORE.

If we were then warm friends, fighting for liberty and equal rights, why have you deserted us in the United States ? Why do you forget this wholesome brotherhood of 1837 ? Why do our Rt Rev. Bishops display to the world such animadversion ? "*Verba movent sed exempla trahunt.*" Rt Rev. Bishops, why do you refuse to recognize our inalienable rights as free men ; why do you exercise coercive measures to deprive us of our national character and spirit ? It is useless to deny and repudiate this well grounded assertion. In our last chapter, we shall adduce facts that are irrefutable. The sympathies of our compatriots are for suffering Ireland ; why do not our Irish friends reciprocate ? Why do they refuse to exchange courtesies ?.....

A period of re-action is not only natural but advantageous to the gradual process of fusion. In Ireland, however, the re-action has never ceased, and the process of fusion, or even the preliminary assimilation, in a national point of view, has not even commenced. We will here quote the words of an eminent philosopher and statesman : " These two series of phenomena *re-action* and *fusion* will be observed to follow one another, at successive intervals throughout the history of nations and when thus continuously reiterated and properly proportioned to each other, contribute by their antagonism to the healthful development of the highest civilization. The want of adjustment between these two laws will be found to mark the period of decline in the progress of nations. Either without the other is destructive of society. Re-action without fusion causes permanent unsettlement of the social elements (this is exactly the case in Ireland) ; it is the first step in all political and social reforms. It is on the contrary, the only principle of revolutions. The great end of *agitation* is

to excite *re-action*. Alone without fusion, re-action leads, through anarchy and functional disturbance of the national brain, to a degeneration of race and dissolution of the body politic." (DR. VERITY.) *This philosophical principle is respectfully submitted to the consideration of the Rt Rev. Bishops of N. England States.* The longer legitimate re-action is provoked and prolonged by deep rooted resistance, the more do the social elements become loosened, dispersed and at length severed. Fusion, to return to a healthful condition, is, in consequence, proportionately retarded, or even altogether prevented; and a disastrous revolution may be effected, where only a reform was needed. Dr Verity lays down general principles which are applicable to all nations. That these principles are sound no elaborate proof is required. History is emphatic. *Hostile collision*, then *assimilative re-action* must precede the new national fusion. Will fusionists please observe? The history of Great Britain, from Heptarchy down through the conquest, and its social revolutions down to the reform, affords an illustration of the law. In Ireland the old Celtic races will become sooner assimilated to British civilization, in proportion as the same social and political systems are made to operate fairly upon both countries. The French-Canadians must go through this process of disintegration before they be assimilated to the British or Irish American system and language. If left, as they are now, in the position of an isolated, foreign body in the state, they will surely follow the law of re-action and ever tend to separate from the power that antagonizes. Will passionate Americanizers again open their eyes to the light of principles and to the philosophy of history? This re-action may be expected to occur until some measures of pacific assimilation be adopted. Oppression begets, at all times, and in all countries, national irritation, anarchy and stupendous revolutions.

What volumes of furious, life wasting, party spirited speeches—to say nothing of party passions—might be superseded by a few rational reflections like the foregoing!

We commenced this historical sketch by a few homely illustrations drawn from nature. Let us conclude in the same manner. "*For if thou wert cut out of the wild olive-tree, which is natural to thee, and contrary to nature, wert ingrafted into the good olive-tree : how much more shall they, that are the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive-tree.*" (Rom. XI, 24.) Herein is comprised the main principle of the junction of nations of different races. It must not be contrary to the nature of either. Sir Thomas Browne commenting on the above remarks : "*Insitio melior est similibus,*" for the nearer consanguinity there is between the scion and the stock, the readier comprehension is made, and the nobler the fructification.

Nations, like individuals, have distinct individualities, and in all unions and desired mixture and fusion of races, where these distinctions are not sufficiently considered and wisely dealt with, nothing but contest and disruption ensues from first to last, terminating only with the extinction (which is not fusion but failure) of the weaker race. We humbly submit to Rt. Rev. Bishops these philosophical principles which must guide their assimilative work, if they wish to enjoy the reality of their dreams. That the end may crown the work essential conditions are to be adopted and applied..... "*Finis coronat opus.*" Practical gardening tells us, that if we join a graft and a stock against nature, no good comes of it. They either produce nothing or nothing worth having. Perhaps the scion will not take hold, and if it take hold, it bears no fruit or only some meagre garden monster, or the scion withers. For either the stock grows too fast for the scion and chokes it, or pushes it off; or the scion grows too fast for the stock and then, at the first gush of wind, blows it off; and sometimes a strong scion will fairly grow itself off. This principle of natural law ought to assist assimilators in their work of Americanization. The Anglo-Americans were scions of the English stock : they grew too fast for the parent and cut themselves off, putting forth roots of their own in a new soil. In like manner England may eventually lose Canada,

India and her other colonies, unless she considers more philosophically the *necessity* of giving the inhabitants *institutions and laws suitable* to their *national character and particularities*. Same causes produce similar effects. What is true on a large scale is equally true on a smaller scale. *Si parva magnis componere licet*. Again we recommend this principle to the consideration of New-England Bishops. They are all very familiar with the history of American Independence; may the above principle guide them in their dealings with French-Canadians! It would be rash judgment, on the part of any man, to suppose that the words of the pagan poet could be applied to a catholic minister of God's altar: — "*Video meliora, probo peiora*." (OVID.)

Nations and individuals must be dealt with, in accordance with their primitive formation. They emerged from the hands of the Creator, stamped with a national character, etc.; consequently these attributes must be respected by crowned heads, whether civil or Ecclesiastical. Ambition, pride and prejudices should have no voice in the government of nations. None but tyrants will ever try to destroy national prerogatives to bring about assimilation. "*Neminem lædere utilem esse omnibus*."

As for poor starving, entangled, half-maddened Ireland, we cannot, of course, call England her parent stock; it is geographically a twin bough, which has grown prodigiously in advance of its unprosperous sister; that it has drawn off and absorbed nearly all the nutriment which should go to its increase and it consequently withers in some parts; grows wild and awry in others and threatens to break off with some gust of winds, if it does not utterly decay. Perhaps the best illustration of the many favorable circumstances required for the fusion of mixed races, is presented by England. It has taken many generations to effect it. On the original Celtic stock were grafted the Roman scions; then came the strong grafts from Saxon tribes and lastly, says Dr. Verity," the national character received its full accession of strenght and impulse from

the flower of the Scandinavian races in Norman invasions and settlements. It was the union of the two great elements of modern civilization ; the Roman and Germanic ; the one giving us municipal institutions and government, the other our sense of *individual liberty and independence*." (Dr. Verity.) As a result nations were made to feel their divine origin ; by a *laissez-faire* policy the act of fusion was consummated. Wherever this policy has been put to test, nations were blended together into a state of homogeneity, without bloodshed, nor social upheavals. History is a teacher *par excellence* ! Would to God that all ruling spirits and functionaries would lend a ready and willing ear unto its inerrable teaching !!!.....

From the foregoing historical researches, it follows that the very best method to bring about homogeneity is the *laissez-faire* policy ; a policy of equal rights. Wherever force, oppression, coercive measures were resorted to, the national spirit rose up to a sense of its dignity ; shook off the yoke of despotism and refused to assimilate. In the face of these historical facts, we have reason to hope that Rt Rev. Bishops will discard their oppressive policy for one of toleration and equity..... May they give us priests of our nationality, wherever we predominate in number, —priests in sympathy with our national character, and a healthy fusion may eventually follow. The Church, like a blooming flower, will expand under the balmy breath of justice, equity, toleration, and may encompass the throne of the great God, with immortal souls, exhaling the sweet, odoriferous perfumes of christian virtues.



CHAPTER IV.

Patriotisme and loyalty of the French-Canadians.

" O Patrie, ineffable mystère,
Mot sublime et terrible ! inconcevable amour."

*" La patrie est un champ où mûrit l'héroïsme où fleurit la
gaieté, terre où nous respirons avec fierté."*

In this chapter, we are to sound the praise of the immortal, unquenchable and indestructible French-Canadians. Our heart leaps with joy at such a thought, but sober in judgment we must be, for history is our judge.

The first spirit of patriotism that burned and flushed in the breasts of the first settlers, along the shores of the majestic St. Lawrence, still lives in the hearts of the children of Jacques Cartier and Champlain, despite all efforts at strangulation. History testifies that this noble band has battled, with the red-skins, for years, amid a thousand conflicts, sometimes vanquished but never crushed. Behold this little people, after one hundred and fifty years of persecution, rising among the nations, like the sunburst of the morning, not in feebleness or decrepitude, but young, healthy, vigorous as in the days of warfare. The indomitable and imperishable spirit of our ancestors fills our hearts, and their sacred memories are ever fresh in our minds. We feel reluctant to speak of Canada, as a theatre of strife, where the dragon of destruction was unchained over that virginal soil. It is foreign to our mind to chant the threnody of French-Canadians tears! We dare not wave aloft, before the world, the blood stained banner of Canada. Far from us is the thought of dwelling on memories that burn and thoughts that bleed. We dare not tear afresh

those gaping wounds, else they might move, "*The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny.*" Nevertheless to show that we have, in our hearts, the seed of genuine patriotism and that our deeds have the sterling ring of loyalty, we must throw open the history of Canada. Since the memorable date, Sept. 13th 1759, on which were laid low two heroes, Montcalm and Wolfe, on the plains of Abraham, the French-Canadians have been loyal to the British flag. When the British colors were thrown to the evening breeze, from the heights of the citadel, we felt our hearts quake. "*Le drapeau fleurdelisé.*" that sacred emblem of sweet liberty, the most beautiful that ever graced any nation on the face of the earth, and for which many a hero has poured out his heart's blood to save it from dishonor, was hauled down never more to inspire us. France withdrew her army, bade us farewell, after entrusting us with a most precious legacy—her traditions, literature, language, religion, laws and institutions. From the gulf of St. Lawrence to the gulf of Mexico the spirit of Charlemagne and Louis IX had penetrated; and christian civilization was taking root. Was such a favored people destined to dwindle? In virtue of the treaty of capitulation, Sept. 8th 1760, the free exercise of religion was assured to the people of the colony and their religious communities were to retain their possessions, rights and privileges. From that date to 1763, England perpetrated a series of cold, heinous and brutal deeds against the handfull of Canadians. The population, by reason of emigration to France, dwindled down to 68,500. The British Crown forfeited her pledge; broke the stipulations of the treaty and began her infamous career of revolting crimes. England encouraged emigration, so as to rid the country of the most influential, educated and wealthy class, with a view of Anglifying the poor peasants. Despondency overshadowed them, for they were conscious of Ireland's treatments at the hands of the British Lion. We cannot resist the temptation of quoting the eminent and impartial statesman E. Rameau:—" *Le sentiment naturel de la race, leur aversion pour les Anglais, un attachement profond*

à leur nationalité, à leur langue et à leur religion, dirigèrent tout ce peuple vers sa conservation par un mouvement instinctif et uniforme, sans aucune entente matérielle. Les Canadiens trouvèrent aussi en eux-mêmes une force de résistance qui défia les persécutions aussi bien que la ruse, et un lien qui maintint constamment leur ensemble national, malgré tous les efforts des Anglais." (E. RAMEAU, *LA FRANCE AUX COLONIES*, page 128.)

Were we to unfurl the secrets of England's underhand practices, we could put that country to shame, if it be susceptible of that sense. What occurred in 1775, when the American Revolution broke out? An opportunity was offered, to the French-Canadians, to join their forces with those of the Americans. Earnest solicitation and bribes were proffered by the Americans, but the French-Canadians remained loyal to the British flag. First instance of loyalty! Were not 16 years of persecutions a just motive for them to break away from England? We displayed to the old world, our sense of loyalty to England, while she was at work to strangle us before we die. Well may we repeat the famous words of Lord Byron:—

"Then rose from sea to sky the wild farewell—
Then shrieked the timid, and stood still the brave,—
Then some leap'd overboard with dreadful yell,
As eager to anticipate their grave;
And the sea yawn'd around like a hell,
And down she suck'd with her the whirling wave,
Like one who grapples with his enemy,
And strives to strangle him before he dies."—

DON JUAN, canto II, 53.

The action of England, towards our forefathers, is very much similar to the action of the mighty waters on the sinking ship. She directed her assaults against us, first by setting aside the solemn treaty, robbing us of our rights of religious worship, and later on by appointing judges, who entirely ignored the language in which they were to administer justice. These duly commissioned justices forfeited the dignity of their lofty office and discarded all sense of honor, by transforming their judicial functions

into one of tyranny and despotism.—They turned their strength against us. Had it not been for the American Revolution our people would very probably have been annihilated. England needed the colonists of Canada, in the war against the Americans. Again the finger of God is perceptible. In 1791 Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, with a view of checking French influence. The Upper province was entirely under British laws and the Lower province was governed by a mixture of English and French laws, pursuant to the treaty of 1763. She did not dare to repudiate, altogether, the articles of the treaty. Under the guise of justice, the French were given a voice in the management of affairs of Lower Canada. As a matter of fact, for 30 years, we had been persecuted; our nationality habitually threatened; the war cry of oppression constantly heard on all sides. There was a solidarity of feeling to deprive us of our language, religion and rights to sit in the Legislative Assembly. So intense was English opinion, that political annihilation was again staring us in the face. Had it not been for the French revolution, like an approaching storm of great magnitude, England would have consented to surrender our treaty rights and abandoned us to the desires of a hungry, ravenous mob, eager to sweep us away from the earth. The feeling in Canada was such that Pierre Bédard, editor of "*Le Canadien*," was cast into prison, subjected to all sorts of hardships, simply because he wielded his mighty pen against British iniquities. Another opportunity is given to the French-Canadians to display their loyalty to England. The war of 1812 was a source of grave annoyance. England had doubts, regarding our sense of patriotism; the least she could expect of us was neutrality. She recalled the human monster, Craig, whose chief tendency was to rob us of national existence, and appointed Sir George Prevost. What does history say of our loyalty in this present emergency? We forgot British despotism, and displayed to the world our sense of fidelity and patriotism to the Crown. We rose in arms, forgetful of the past, and

added military honors to our record, at the famous battle of Chateauguay, where Colonel Salaberry won a decisive victory over a formidable army, ten times the size of our soldiers. That battle was a duplicate of Monongahela, 1755, where Braddock succumbed before Canadian prowess. How did England express her gratitude to Canada? She redoubled her efforts to denationalize us; to rob us of our language, religion and institutions. These are not gratuitous assertions: history is my authority. Let us recall to mind that, in 1791, the two provinces were separated for sordid motives. The English did not want to submit to the preponderating influence of the French. In 1832, the British population had reached the grand figures of 265,000, with fair prospects of an annual increase of about 10%. England wanted to consummate a new and iniquitous deal. The union of the two Provinces was now the object of her dreams! She foresaw that, in virtue of the influence of her colonists, by reason of capital and instruction, French influence would be, in a short time, a thing of the past. Then broke out a storm of French indignation, that culminated on the battle field. The walls of the British House of Parliament re-echoed the plaintive accents of Papineau, Nelson and Viger. *O, immortal heroes, may we kiss their memory and gather their dust?* With throbbing breasts, baked lips and oven-throats they cast consternation upon every face, breathless and aghast! Ireland, in the seventeenth century fell prostrate to the ground, all but annihilated; Canada in the nineteenth shares the same fate. *O, unfortunate daughters of England, embrace in a holy sisterhood to soften the stings of thy miseries!* What does Garneau say of our forefathers: — “*Tous les malheurs qui peuvent frapper un peuple se sont réunis pour accabler les Canadiens. La guerre, la famine, les dévastations sans exemple, la conquête, le despotisme civil et militaire, la privation des droits politiques, l’abolition des institutions et des lois anciennes, tout cela est arrivé simultanément ou successivement dans notre patrie, en l’espace d’un demi-siècle. . . . Il a lutté seul contre toutes les tentatives hostiles à son existence, et il s’est maintenu, à la surprise*

de ses oppresseurs découragés et vaincus. Admirable de persévérance, de courage et de résignation, il n'a jamais désespéré à un moment. Confiant dans la religion de ses pères, révérent les lois qu'ils lui ont laissées en héritage et chérissant la langue dont l'harmonie a frappé son oreille en naissant, et qui a servi de véhicule aux pensées de la plupart des grands génies modernes, pas un seul Canadien, de père et de mère, n'a jusqu'à ce jour, dans le Bas-Canada, trahi aucun de ces trois grands symboles de sa nationalité, la langue, les lois et la religion."

Dear Bishops, please ponder seriously on the above facts! What could we say of the bitter struggles, in which Canadians played, an important role? With an energy, born of blind passions, our national life was food for the British lion. "*La diplomatie de l'Angleterre, intéressée à faire de nous un peuple anglais, toute l'habileté, je dirai même l'astuce de ses hommes d'Etat les plus roués, se sont heurtés sur lui. Ni les menaces, ni les persécutions, ni les échafauds, ni même les récompenses, n'ont pu l'ébranler.*" (L. FRÉCHETTE.) We were play things of British ambition! Firm we stood, ready to die rather than entrust to history the safekeeping of the crime of national apostasy. In 1837, our patience and sense of endurance had wasted away. The memory of Lafayette, Rochambeau, de Grasse, Vergennes, de Noailles, d'Abbeville, haunted us night and day. Their glorious achievements, at Yorktown filled our hearts with a martial spirit. Our dream was to battle for our rights, liberty, language and religion. The bloody fields of St. Charles, St. Denis, and St. Eustache hold in their bosoms the secret of our courage. Our fathers fell, but England was moved to yield to our request. The history of 1775 was a powerful incentive to acquiescence; was a terrible reminder of the disastrous effects of a policy of oppression. England foresaw that her iniquitous, despotic policy would eventually beget desolation. The uprising of 1837 opened to the French-Canadians an era of prosperity for agriculture, commerce, navigation and industry. Our heroes fell, Papineau, Chénier, Lorimier, Cardinal, Duquette, but poli-

tical liberty and free institutions sprang from the blood of our fallen fathers. For 150 years, they fought to preserve unsullied the precious emblems of nationality, traditions, language, religion, and shall we, Canadians, at the nefarious bidding of passionate Americanizers, yield and forsake our national character; abandon our language? O, immortal dust of our heroes, sleep thy last sleep, for thy heroic blood is running through the channels of our bodies! Well may we here repeat the sorrowful strains of the exiled people of God, in Babylon.—“If I forget thee, o Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten. Let my tongue cleave to my jaws, if I do not remember thee.” (Ps. cxxxvi, 5, 6.) From the cradle to the grave, we shall speak the language of Bossuet! “*La langue, cette incarnation sublime de la pensée, comme le Verbe est l’incarnation éternelle de l’idée divine, le langage, plus fort que les décrets passagers d’une législation perverse, le langage a conservé la croix, comme le nom symbolique de ce qui est grand, généreux et honorable.*”—This precious heritage—language—we have defended against invaders. When the storm howled, the lightning spanned the heavens, the alarm filled the air, we shouldered the musket to protect our prerogatives. A race that boasts of such valliant heroes, is not extinguishable, for it is kindled with the fire of patriotism, a fire that dies not. Were our patriotism and loyalty ever questioned? To set at rest all opinions and doubts formed against us, let us place ourselves in the hands of a Britisher. His opinion will carry greater weight than history, at least, for those, who charge all historians with unlimited partiality. When Mr. McNeil gave notice, in the Dominion House of Commons, of a resolution, professing Canada’s loyalty to the Empire, the vote was carried unanimously. Did we French-Canadians, by reason of past outrages, take exception to the resolution? The French vote was compact, loyal to the Crown. When needs be, we bury the hatchet and shoulder the musket to protect our flag. “*La Presse*” of Montreal, on the following morning, in an editorial said:—*Cette manifestation de haut*

joyauté envers l'Angleterre, a certainement raison d'être actuellement. En tous cas, le patriotisme de nos députés a été mis au grand jour avec une profusion de discours marqués au plus haut degré d'attachement pour la mère patrie . . . Si par malheur les horreurs de la guerre frappaient une partie du vaste empire sur lequel le soleil ne se couche pas, tous les sujets britanniques se dévoueraient pour la défense de l'Angleterre et de l'Empire."

This editorial fragment is an exact summary of Mr Laurier's speech. The Venezuela scare furnished abundant proof of our loyalty to the British Crown. "If the U. S. were to go to war with Canada, the province of Quebec, says the Britisher, would in all probability be first attacked. No French-Canadian, even though a naturalized American, could resist such an appeal to his patriotism. Therefore, when it was a question of a possible raising of troops, the local militia officers in Montreal received as many offers from French-Canadians as from their English speaking fellow subjects. . . . The French-Canadian is *essentially loyal*. That is a fact not to be forgotten. He is distinctly and unquestionably loyal to British connexion. Moreover it must always be insisted on, that this loyalty is the result of his religion The French-Canadians, as a race, are imbued with the conviction that they are a chosen people. As first colonists of Canada, they look back with a just pride, to conquest, sufferings and triumphs. As conquered people, they have preserved their language, laws, religion and privileges; a people cut off, by these very laws, religion and language, from any possibility of amalgamation with their neighbors, they have remained as sharply differentiated a nationality as the Jews in Babylon." Why? because loyalty, or love of country is a natural virtue. "Love of country," says Archbishop Ryan in his centenary sermon in the Baltimore Cathedral, "is a feeling planted by God in the human heart, and when properly directed, becomes a natural virtue."

This natural virtue is prominent among French-Can-

dians. We have learned that the Roman Empire brought about homogeneity, by adopting a policy of toleration and equal rights; but this homogeneity was ephemeral. Society lacked unitive powers, that bind and keep combined diversity of elements. Unitive power is absolutely necessary to maintain the stability of any society — civil or ecclesiastical. To preserve the union of nations, or elements of nations, there must be a moral power, a vital force, strong enough to stifle human caprice, mental fluctuations, and purify the foul breath of passions, that engender disintegration and anarchy. This moral bound is religion. With reference to the French-Canadians, history certifies that wherever our compatriots abandoned their language, they invariably lost their faith. Consequently, any coercive measures, tending to infringe our inherent rights to perpetuate our racial characteristics and language, must destroy that vital link, binding the elements of society. This unitive power, receiving a "quibus," will cause civil or ecclesiastical society to totter and fall. This principle we respectfully submit to the attention of Rt. Rev. Bishops of New-England. To strengthen our attitude, we may invoke the testimony of contemporaneous history.

We know that the vital principle of the American Constitution consists in liberty. Washington and his associates favored the independence of Church and State. Why? because the two societies are antagonistic in faith and principles. This country, according to Leo XIII is destined to become the greatest catholic country in the world. Evidently liberty is most conducive to development, in any sphere of human activity. The policy of liberty, to the diverse nationalities, must be equally favorable to religion. Were the Rt. Rev. Bishops of New-England, to govern their dioceses, pursuant to the principle laid down by the founder of this Republic, the Church would necessarily expand. The wisdom of George Washington has been put to test and has withstood the trying ordeal of a hundred years; should the Bishops adopt this same policy, similar effects would result. Any other policy must drive away souls from the Church of God.

Again, what can Bishops do for religion, when a large portion of the clergy and laity are against them? In military campaigns, victories are not gained, unless the commander in chief of the army is sustained by his officers and soldiers. We Canadians, priests and laity, are not in sympathy with the rigorous policies of our Rt. Rev. Bishops — little or no good can be accomplished. Viewing our attitude under the light of history, Bishops have every thing to gain by favoring our national sentiments and every thing to lose by curtailing our prerogatives. We are essentially loyal; essentially religious. Can there lurk in the mind of any man, doubts regarding our loyalty and patriotism? Our sense of loyalty is more ardent in religious matters. We love our religion and language, for they are inseparably connected. Violence at either provokes us to vindicate our rights. In the face of such irrefutable truths, can our Rt. Rev. Bishops of the New-England States, be excused for their policy of extermination? The history of our race is opened before their eyes; condensed in this modest pamphlet. Persistence, therefore, in their destructive policy is a striking evidence, that national prejudices hold a prominent position in their hearts. Please be mindful of the fact that we belong to a persecuted race like the Irish. We have grown to manhood; under the yoke of British oppression, we are accustomed to tyrannical measures. We bore our servitude with dignity and courage, cradling the thought that better days were in store for us. Our hope of final success was the preservation of our religion and language. Remember that violence applied to language or national prerogatives invariably produces a crisis in the Church. Be attentive to England's perplexities, when the French-Canadians were forced to assume the aggressive. She weakened for fear of disastrous results, and our ancestral inheritance was preserved. Grant us liberty of speech; give us priests, who have grown with us in an atmosphere of persecution; priests in sympathy with our history, our character, our

sufferings, our hope, and your dioceses will have in us an element of strenght, a loyal body of church defenders. Instances are many attesting our love for the church of *Plessis* and *Laval*. The New-England States bear evidence of our ardent zeal for the honor of religion. Churches, schools, convents, parsonages are living monuments of our loyalty to our church and clergy. The past is a guarantee of the future, provided our national prerogatives are unmolested.



CHAPTER V.

Grievances of the French-Canadians before
the Search-Light of Facts.

"*Nihil rerum humanarum, sine deorum numine geri.*" (CORNELIUS NEPOS.)

In our first pamphlet "*Germanization and Americanization Compared*" we summarized the grievances of the French-Canadians, of the New-England States, in the form of fourteen propositions. On page 12 of the same brochure, we read:—"We challenge any man, bishop, priest or layman, to prove that our charges, against the Episcopate, are unfounded. This brochure has been sent broad cast throughout the length and breadth of this continent of North America and no Irish American Bishop has dared to raise his voice against our accusations. It has even been distributed in Rome, among the College of Cardinals. The moral sufferings of our compatriots are well known to the Holy Father. In the performance of this work, we were chiefly moved by the words of St. Paul to Timothy:—" *Who will have all mento be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth*" (1 TIM. II—4.) Our people drift away from the church, when they are victims of oppression. The knowledge of their sufferings will induce the Holy Father to alleviate their miseries, by putting an end to the policy of oppression, exercised by New-England bishops

For six longs months, the press of the country has hurled at us, vile epithets, my most bitter assailants were Rev. Father Lambert of the "Freeman's Journal" and the Rev. Dominican Fathers, of Lexington Avenue, New-York City. The Rev. Editors, disregarding the first principles of charity, have gratuitously insulted us, with-

out a justifying cause, not even under the slightest provocation. Every fair-minded gentleman must feel indignant in reading the scurrilous articles of "The Rosary" and of "The Freeman's Journal" and "Morning Star" of New-Orleans, La. Our brochure contains most grave charges, against New-England Bishops, and strange to say, the above editors threw mud at us, and levelled themselves to the rank of ward politicians. If mud-throwing was their most powerful and efficient auxiliary, it stands to reason that they espoused a desperate cause. Father Lambert's articles are full of sophistries. His latest article under the caption of "*A mischievous Circular*" is a tissue of subtle fallacies, flimsy as smoke, in which he displays sublime ignorance of the most easy French. He may be a great philosopher, head and shoulder above the famous atheist Bob Ingersoll, but as a French scholar, he is a dismal failure..... We champion a most sacred cause, and, therefore, we will not condescend to discuss grave issues with men full of arrogance, animated with a spirit hostile to the French-Canadians. In their frantic efforts to suppress our reputation, they represented us as disturbers of Ecclesiastical affairs, and painted us with fast colors. In their judgment, we are a wretched monster that threatens the very lives of Irish-American bishops.

Gentlemen, you are entitled to your opinion ! With all your skill at coloring facts you cannot change the nature of facts. We defy any man to show a line or phrase that is not in perfect accord with faith, morals and discipline. There isn't a line disrespectful of authority ; we profoundly reverence the ministers of God, so much so that earthly motives cannot move us to be unjust towards them. Must we, on that account, refrain from speaking the truth ? Must we allow our compatriots to groan under the yoke of oppression ? In this case, silence ceases to be a virtue. Christ was the most perfect specimen of Bishop. Christ was merciful and infinitely just whereas Rt. Rev. Bishops are at times, very hard, partial and unjust.—This point we shall prove later on.....

Many other Irish-American editors, smothered our charges, that they might not see the light of day. By their silence they kept their readers in the dark. We despise selfishness and narrow mindedness! Produce facts and let readers pass judgment upon them. This is a liberal policy of which every editor ought to feel proud. Can it be that you were the flexible tools of the Venerable Bishops? Remember, gentlemen, that we are not appealing to public opinion for justice! (We want to call the attention of Rt. Rev. Bishops, to our many grievances that they may understand them, and apply an immediate remedy.) The sufferings of our compatriots can no longer be endured in silence. The press will air our sorrows, until justice is meted out to us.

For the benefit of those who have not perused the first pamphlet, it is proper to reproduce the original charges.

GRIEVANCES BROUGHT TO LIGHT.

First.—Some Bishops retain, in the vicariate field, young Canadian priests from three to six years, when, *ceteris paribus*, young Irish priests are promoted to pastoral duties after one year's service, and sometimes less.

Second.—Some Bishops prefer and do intrust to some Irish priest, knowing very little French, congregations sometimes exclusively French, and most always mixed congregations, when the large majority is French. This proposition is emphasized by New England Bishops.

Third.—Some Bishops have sworn allegiance to the policy of never appointing French priests (knowing thoroughly the English language) over parishes equally divided with reference to nationality. This proposition is emphasized in the New England States, to the detriment of Canadian priests who have had more service in the diocese than their lucky *confrères*. Some Bishops, despite the vote of the clergy to the contrary, keep the same Canadian Councilors, whose tendency inclines toward National Apostasy.

Fourth.—Some Bishops compel Canadian priests, knowing little or no English, to attend Diocesan Retreats, at which French is carefully eliminated. This state of things prevails in dioceses where the French clergy predominates in number.

Fifth.—Some Bishops surround themselves with priests hostile to Canadian priests; and as a necessary conclusion, the French-Canadian clergy is habitually handicapped in their work of building, plans, and borrowing money, from which complications follow. This interference dampens the zeal of the clergy, and religion suffers.

Sixth.—Some Bishops are more exacting and imperative, etc., when they visit French parishes than when they are among their own people

Seventh.—Some Bishops, on Episcopal visitation, content themselves with addressing very few words of French to exclusively Canadian congregations, making long addresses in English when understood by but a few.

Eighth.—Some Bishops commit to French priests the ungrateful task of building up parishes, which later on become the legacy of Irish priests. This is quite general in the New England States. A retrospect view proves the point.

Ninth.—Some Bishops have little sympathy for Canadian priests and laity. Priests, at Ecclesiastical Conferences, are requested to speak Latin, when their mother tongue is not English. This discrimination is unjust, and shows a despotic spirit on the part of the Ordinary.

Tenth.—Some Bishops, abetted by their clergy, are determined to exterminate the French language. To bring to a successful issue their repressive policy, mixed parishes are invariably given to Irish priests, who refuse to have French taught in the parochial schools. Sometimes these schools cost French priests their very lives. Catechism is also taught in English, and to my knowledge several priests reject, for first communion, French children who cannot answer catechism in English. This is contrary to all laws of the Church.

Eleventh.—Some Bishops, to pacify irritated Canadians demanding redress of grievances, send them a French priest to their Irish pastor. This yoking together of a young French priest with an old Irishman, is often a torture for the former. (Counterpart of St. Lawrence, A. D. 258.)

Twelfth.—Some Bishops apply seminary collections to send Irish students to Europe for theological training, to the detriment of French-Canadian subjects, who are not given a chance to learn English. They invariably receive their theological training in Canada, where no English is spoken. This discrimination is unfair.

Thirteenth.—Some Bishops discriminate against Canadian Colleges by refusing to recognize the efficiency of the teaching staff, and by compelling students to renew their course of philosophy in an institution of their choosing. It is a sad pretext for retarding their ordination.

Fourteenth.—Most of the Bishops of the Boston Province have resolved to Americanize the Canadians, cost what it may, and to supplant French priests by religious orders. Cold facts speak! Lowell, Haverhill, Lawrence, Boston, Lewiston, Fall River, etc., are truth-bearing. These are the largest French parishes in the United States.

Regarding this charge No. 1 we feel reluctant to specify names.. The *Advisory-Board* is opposed to such proceedings, on the plea that no good can be derived from such specification; and again because we are not engaged in establishing proofs before a properly constituted and established ecclesiastical tribunal. At most, we can only satisfy curious readers. At the proper time, specified and certified facts will be adduced. For the present, we are satisfied to assert that the proof of the first charge exists in the diocese of *Portland, Maine*. Similar cases exist in the diocese of *Hartford, Manchester, Burlington and St. John's field*, where young Irish priests, after two or three years of service, are promoted to parishes to the detriment of French priests, who have endured, for years, the heat of the day.....In no sphere of labor is the spirit of partiality and injustice most fatal than in the clerical sphere. Were

the people blind to the promotion of priests, less harmful would be the results. The people is apt to pass ill-founded judgment upon the cases that come under their observation. Priests may be ruined for ever.....A fair policy would remove all possible occasions of rash judgment on the part of the laity.

The truth of charge No 2 is so general, throughout the New-England States, that were we to specify in details all cases, it would require another brochure of more than hundred pages. Readers will please forbear, if unnecessary details find no place in this pamphlet. As to the names of priests appointed over mixed parishes, we shall say nothing. It is a part of our programme to specify no names. We have conferred with priests, all over New-England dioceses, and we must respect their objections to have their names in print. The name is only accidental; facts are facts. In Rome, if needs be, names will be adduced to prove our charges. When we designate the number of cases in each diocese, Bishops are free to challenge our assertions, if they so choose; we are willing and ready to discuss this matter with any Bishop, who may think our charges unfounded.....

To begin with, we will take the diocese of *Burlington, Vermont*. Although Bishop de Goesbriand is French by birth, still he scrupulously follows the policy adopted by the suffragans of the Province. So strong is the pressure that even Bishop de Goesbriand cannot, or dares not, put in practice the admirable lessons he gave some years ago. This great scholar, Bishop of God's holy Church, could not resist the violence of the assimilative wave of oppression, so how can our compatriots withstand the combined efforts of all the Bishops? We must place ourselves in the hands of the all merciful God for safe keeping. What did the Venerable dean of Burlington write in "*Le Protecteur Canadien*" on may 13th 1869?....

"*Dieu dans sa providence veut que les nations soient évangélisées, au moins généralement, par des apôtres qui parlent leur langue, qui connaissent leurs habitudes, leurs dispositions ; que*

les nations soient évangélisées par des prêtres de leur nation Oui, mes frères, il faut aller chercher les brebis égarées loin du bercaïl Je vous le dis après une longue et triste expérience : Si l'on ne vole au secours de ces émigrés, même à l'ombre de la croix, ils vont perdre la foi et déshonorer leur nation Les Canadiens ont besoin de missionnaires de leur nation, ils ont besoin d'églises séparées. Ah ! mes frères, vous seriez remplis de douleur si vous aviez connu comme moi l'étendue des misères spirituelles des émigrés. Comment peut-il en être autrement, puisqu'ils n'entendent point la parole de Dieu, puisqu'ils ne reçoivent pas le pain encore plus nécessaire des sacrements de Jésus-Christ qui purifient l'âme et la fortifient contre toutes les tentations... Qu'on donne des missionnaires canadiens aux Canadiens et vous serez vous-mêmes étonnés de la libéralité de ces pauvres émigrés."

The above extracts prove conclusively the necessity of a national clergy to minister to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the French-Canadians. This knowledge, the Venerable Bishop has acquired through experience. He feels keenly the miseries and sufferings of our people. To his experience, our compatriots go to church, where they must stand up during the entire service and are most always exposed not to understand the preacher, either because he does not know how to speak French, or else because he speaks it too badly to be intelligible. This is again the case to-day. To our knowledge, there are many priests, pastors of mixed parishes, who so disfigure and torture the French language as to transform the house of God into a play-house ; oftentimes we have to concentrate our moral forces to abstain from laughter ! Such comedy in the house of God has no *raison d'être* in this latter part of the nineteenth century.

If the Venerable Bishop of Burlington was so thoroughly convinced in 1869, that French-Canadians are lost to the Church because they have no priests of their nationality to minister unto them, why has he failed, and does fail habitually to make provision for these same French-Canadians of his diocese ? Whence comes it, that they are

allowed to drift away from the Church, for want of priests, of their nationality, speaking their language and fully in sympathy with their national character? Large French congregations are entrusted to Irish priests, knowing very little or no French. Could we specify names, the history of the diocese would be interesting reading. How would His Holiness, Leo XIII relish such reading? As a matter of fact many mixed parishes are administered by priests knowing no French; and when the pastor knows the language he refuses to speak it. Assimilation! Assimilation!! Assimilation!!! is the by-word. Americanization at any price! What could we say of *Middlebury*? The present pastor, is of French descent, does not speak French in the Church. It is foreign to our mind to fathom his reasons for refusing to address his parishioners, in the French language; what we consider now is the fact. The entire congregation can certify as to the veracity of our assertion. Again what could we say of :--*Brandon, Bristol, Barre, Graniterville, Proctor, Montpelier, Bellows Falls*? Statistics prove to the highest evidence, that French-Canadians are largely in the majority in each of the above parishes. They even run up to 1,500 souls in Brandon. The percentage, in the other places, varies from two thirds to three fourths. In each of the foregoing congregations, no French is spoken in the church, either because the Irish pastor does not know the language or because he refuses to speak it. How do the Bishops's ringing words, of May 13th, 1860, harmonize with his ruling at this stage of his career? *Montpelier* is undoubtedly the mecca of French-Canadian sufferings. The pastor knows French well, speaks it fluently, but never in the church. Our people do not understand English, particularly the language of the pulpit; they abandon the church and are lost, as the good Bishop knows well. Furthermore there are other parishes entrusted to Irish pastors that ignore the primary rudiments of French. Our people do not go to church; their children grow up in irreligion. What of the future? may the Venerable Prelate think of these facts !.....

Is Mgr. Michaud, the coadjutor bishop, in sympathy with the French-Canadians of his diocese? We cannot unearth the secrets that lurk in his breast, but we may judge him by his actions. To prove the point, to the entire satisfaction of all those who may peruse this pamphlet, particularly the Roman Authorities, into whose hands this brochure will circulate, we submit the following letter :—

St. Johnsbury, Vt., 15 juin 1896.

Cher Mons. :—Partageant entièrement vos vues au sujet de la langue française et de la manière dont les évêques irlandais traitent les Canadiens dans la Nouvelle-Angleterre, je me suis demandé ce que vous penseriez des évêques du Vermont, dont l'un français, Mgr Deljoesbriand et l'autre canadien, Mgr Michaud, qui ne parlent presque pas le français dans leur visite du diocèse. Mgr Deljoesbriand est déjà venu ici et nous a donné le compte rendu, en anglais, d'un voyage à Rome. Encore le 7 courant Mgr Michaud étant ici pour la confirmation et s'adressant à une population dont plus des trois quarts est canadienne a à peine parlé deux ou trois minutes en bien mauvais français, faisant tout son discours en anglais. Si ces remarques, Mons., peuvent vous servir ou être communiquées à votre correspondant M. Chs F. St-Laurent, je vous les livre, vous en garantissant la vérité."

This letter speaks for itself and proves, in part, the seventh charge, lodged against the New-England Bishops. It is obvious, from the above facts, that these two Bishops, who, by reason of their origin, ought to be in sympathy with our compatriots, are victims of a well defined policy. They are leagued with the other Bishops to destroy our national character, cost what it may. Our language, customs, traditions, prerogatives must give away before their policy of Americanization. Before taking leave of these two Prelates, may we be allowed to submit to their consideration the expressed will of the Holy See.

The Holy Father through the S. Congregation of the Propaganda, addressed a remarkable instruction to the Hungarian bishops.. We quote the subjoined passages which bear on the language question. "The bishops shall earnestly demand that the pastors and catechists of that portion of the faithful who do not speak Hungarian, obey the state law which commands that the school children must be instructed in the Hungarian tongue; on the other hand, not to give them instruction in Hungarian until they have acquired a perfect knowledge of that tongue. They shall likewise see to it that the pastors and their assistants do not preach, in Hungarian idiom, unless they are satisfied that the people fully understands them. In case the parishioners speak diverse tongues and do not all understand Hungarian, the pastors shall strive to have the word of God preached to them in their own mother-tongue. In as much as the cultured societies are opened to men of every faith and have no catholic character, the bishops shall instruct the pastors to take every precaution to prevent the infection, by the poison of indifferentism, of those of the faithful who join these organizations. It is eminently useful that there be catholic papers in the different localities, more than that there are at present, and not only Hungarian, but printed in every other language spoken by the people and adapted to the understanding of the people." "If we substitute the word "English" for "Hungarian," in this paragraph," says the *Milwaukee Columbia*—"we have the clearly expressed mind of the Holy See with regard to the non English speaking catholics of this country in relation to the "language question." (*The Review*, No 21, vol. III.)

In the diocese of Manchester, N.H. the same policy prevails. Bearing on charge number two, we may enumerate ten or more parishes, having a very large French majority. These mixed parishes are entrusted to Irish priests, knowing little French. Among the most populous localities, we may name :—*Lebanon, Franklin, Penacook, Gor-*

ham, Greenville, Malboro, Claremont, Newmarket, Salmon-Falls, Westville, Whitefield. In justice to the Rev. pastors of Malboro, Greenville, New-Market and Salmon Falls, speak French in a satisfactory manner both in and out of the church. The policy adopted in this diocese is identical to that of Burlington, Vt. If there be any difference it lies in the fact that these mixed parishes were some years ago, entrusted to Canadian priests, and to-day they have fallen into foreign hands, through well concocted schemes of Americanization. What could we say of the late trouble at Lebanon? The Bishop, to carry out his design of Americanization, discarded the spiritual interest of the congregation, with what results? History attests that the people are irritated against the pastor and about one third has fallen away from the church. In that same locality we have a proof of charge eleventh. A great deal more might be said, but Rome will read the rest of our grievances.....

The next in order is Boston. His Grace, Archbishop Williams, has liberal views on some points, particularly school matters; with regard to grievance number two, he is not altogether immaculate. Amesbury, Cambridge, Hudson, Newburyport, Quincy, Hebronville, Newton, contain a large contingent of French-Canadians, and the pastors hardly ever say a word of French in the churches.

The Venerable Metropolitan has been faithful to the words he uttered in Lynn, Mass, 1888. "*La langue est une cause raisonnable de séparation pour le culte public.*" Unfortunately for the secular clergy the separation is very often made to their detriment. The very best of French parishes are entrusted to religious orders, Lowell, Haverhill, Lawrence, Boston. The secular priests are doomed to occupy secondary positions. Whenever vacancies occur, the Archbishop, instead of displaying a liberal policy by appointing French Canadian priests, knowing well both languages, promotes to these vacancies, Irish pastors, possessing a very meagre knowledge of that most beautiful tongue of Bossuet. This policy, pursued up to date, is a striking illustration of Americanization, at any price. The prospects, for the future, are not very bright.

Religion, in the diocese of Springfield is also crippled by the action of over-zealous Americanizers. The war-cry is heard, on all sides: let us do away with foreign languages. Power is concentrated to that end. The policy of oppression is applied with equal rigidity. At this hour of writing, there are several important mixed parishes, with a large French majority, committed to Irish priests. Some few know little French, but decline to practice their knowledge of the French tongue. Always the same story—*me too !!!* Chief among the mixed congregations are:—*North Brookfield, Gilbertville, Grafton, Oxford, Warren, Wittingville, Williamstown, Winchendon, East Douglas, Ware*. There are many Canadian priests who would accept any of the above positions, but their aspirations are held in abeyance by oppressors that they may further their sordid motives. Grievances number twelve and eleven have zealous protectors in this diocese. North Brookfield has an Irish pastor, with a young French assistant, also Lebanon, N. H. Every year students are sent to Paris for theological training, on the plea that French parishes, in course of times, will revert to Irish priests. To our knowledge, the greater part of Holy Cross students, studying for the church, are sent to Paris or to the Canadian College, in Rome. Bishop Beaven is reluctant to patronize St. Sulpice of Montreal, because there are too many Canadians desirous of learning English. Consequently Canadian students, preparing for New-England dioceses, are compelled to study in Canada where they have no opportunity to learn English. The same policy is carried out in Manchester and Boston dioceses. In the same diocese of Manchester grievance thirteenth has a protector. In addition to the above, we may add that among other grievances, the French clergy of Springfield has to put up a great deal with the policy of Bishop Beaven, regarding marriage questions, etc. To our knowledge the last sacraments of the Church were administered to a French-Canadian by an Irish pastor, when the French pastor was at home and ready to attend to his parishioner. The diocesan statutes forbid

such intrusion. The Rt. Rev. Bishop discarded the diocesan regulations and authorized the Irish pastor, not only to administer the sacrament of Extreme-Unction, but also to sing the funeral mass and to receive the customary perquisite. This is contrary to the general legislation of the Church. Besides marriages and baptisms are performed by Irish pastors, contrary to existing laws, forbidding such practices. French priests protest against such abuses, but to no avail. The proper remedy can only come from Rome. Children born in this country, according to certain bishops, are Americans and, therefore, may be christened by an Irish priest, when the family belongs to a strictly French parish and both parents are French. This despotic ruling cannot stand the test of canonical examination. In missionary countries, no Bishop has the power to discard the general legislation of the Church. Where the law does not apply it is because Rome has so decided. But with reference to the sacraments of Marriage, Baptism and Extreme-Unction, the general law is our guide. The country that gives birth to a child is not necessarily a factor to determine his nationality. A child is a Canadian not necessarily because he is born in Canada, but because he is born of French-Canadian parents. We are not speaking here in a political sense — we are dealing with ecclesiastical matters. Later on we will discuss the marriage question, &c., &c., in some ecclesiastical Reviews. European theologians, as well as Canadian moralists have the subject under study; they will be heard from during the coming winter months.....

Regarding Providence diocese, touching question number two, very little needs be said. We have canvassed all dioceses, East of the Missouri river, and we are happy to state that Bishop Harkins is the most magnanimous and impartial. We are familiar with the Providence French clergy, and in our long experience with the diocese, we have hardly ever heard any complaints. It is true there are five mixed parishes with Irish pastors, but, we are reluctant to believe that this state of things will long prevail. These

five parishes are:—*Slatternville, Harrisville, Natick, Pascoag, Georgiaville*. May Rt. Rev. Bishop Harkins accept the expression of the French clergy and laity, that we have great confidence and respect for his liberal and just policy towards the French-Canadians of his diocese.

Regarding the diocese of Portland, Maine, great many things may be said. This State has supplied the country with illustrious statesmen: men who have spread the lustre of their genius at home and abroad. It is conceded that where there is great power there is also great weakness. The Church has had great men, but great men are fallible. "*Humanum est errare*" The tranquillity of the diocese has been at times disturbed. The whole country remembers the various incidents that clouded the clerical horizon. It is foreign to our purpose to relate what history now controls. We simply wish to state that oppression is not an unfamiliar term among the French-Canadians of that state. Oppression, despotism even, has been at work in various spheres of the hierarchy. We know whereof we speak. We have spent several summers around Bangor, and Madawaska. We are fairly informed on Ecclesiastical matters. The least we can say, for the present, is to assert that if Rome were cognizant of the shameful injustices perpetrated in some sections of that diocese, instantaneously, a suitable and efficient remedy would be applied. Rome well remembers the past! Crying abuses have crept in, that have caused many priests to shed bitter tears. We know of a case where a french-priest, like St. Peter, wept with such profusion that his cheeks were furrowed. We are not drawing on our imagination. God alone knows the secrets, that have a resting place in the heart of some unfortunate priests, upon whom ecclesiastical wrath has fallen. Bear in patience, compatriots, in the priesthood, the day of deliverance is at hand. Another heaven-sent Moses may soften the heart of *Phearaoh*! Timemay come, sooner than you expect it, when having breasts may be given an opportunity to discard their sufferings and miseries. Our compatriots suffer and suffer much. Despotism

weighs heavily upon them. There is hardly a grievance, among the fourteen enumerated in our first brochure, in which the name of Portland does not enter. Nearly all the grievances have their origin in that diocese. It were useless to parade before the world all we could say against the diocese of Portland. We know, on substantial authority that the French-Canadians will appeal to Rome for redress of grievances. At that time, we shall mingle our forces with our friends of that diocese and, at the feet of His Holiness, we shall submit a lot of certified documents that no earthly power can crush. The secrets of untold years shall be manifested. Rome will be called to judge upon the rulings of those invested with authority. For the present, we feel satisfied to state that in that diocese there is one priest (not French) in charge of one of the largest French-Canadian parishes in the state. That parish is a source of discord for the entire state. Grievances two, four, five, six, seven, eleven, twelve, fourteen have well grounded basis in that diocese. Could we speak and unfold the secrets of our breast, we would feel relieved, but "*tempus loquendi, tempus tacendi*," we must await for the proper time. The greater part of the parishes of this diocese, are of a mixed nature, so to do justice to the subject, we would have to enumerate them all. Therefore we will mention; *Brunswick, Winn, Dexter, Lisbon, Livermore Falls, Sanford and South Berwick*; later on we may say more. The French-Canadians of Brunswick have the sympathies of the better class of Montrealers... Many of us spend our summer holidays at the beach, so we know whereof we speak ... Oh! were we free to speak!!! Let us now pass on the Hartford diocese---last but not the least.

Touching *Hartford*, a large octavo volume might be written! We have visited all dioceses East of the Missouri river and this diocese of Hartford is the Mecca of despotism. There is a tacit understanding between the bishop and his clergy, in virtue of which French-Canadian priests are not allowed in the diocese. At times, by reason of uncontrollable circumstances, priests find their way in the

diocese only to be relegated in remote corners where they can be of no practical benefit to the French element. Some few are sent, in the capacity of auxiliary priests, to Irish pastors to pacify the irritated Canadians. Were we discussing this question before an ecclesiastical tribunal, we could prove that foul methods and means were employed to boycott the French clergy and laity. During the Danielsonville embroglio, letters were counterfeited and forwarded to His Eminence Cardinal Satolli with a view of giving color to the clerical side of the question. The French were misrepresented. We hold in our possession proofs that Canadians were bribed to testify against their compatriots. The earnest appeals of the French clergy and laity, to obtain redress of their grievances, were annulled by the action of the Irish clergy. Through the influence of the Irish priests, the Apostolic Delegate was convinced that the French people did not want French priests. Those who headed the movement and gave it vitality were quoted as hot-headed cranks, aiming at a reputation at the expense of religion. In certain localities meetings were held; their grievances were examined, weighed and finally delegates were chosen to represent their interests at the Legation. Then the most astute priests were set at work, to check the movement. In its incipency cunning means were devised, bribes were offered, promises were made to abandon the project of revendication. The will of the French people was discarded; their miseries increased: religion lost its prestige. Threats were, at times, resorted to, to compel Canadians to forsake their mission to Cardinal Satolli. If the Canadians of that diocese failed to have a national clergy it is because our compatriots were duped. They were given to understand that Quebec priests were not what was wanted. Be patient, said Irish pastors, and the Bishop will, in time, ordain your sons; then you shall have a national clergy, of your own creation. On that score, it would be advisable to peruse the article of Dr Omer Larue, published in "Le Travailleur" of Worcester. The

trend of his article was to prove that the Bishop, abetted by his clergy, was wrong and misrepresented the state of things, when he declined to accept Quebec priests on the plea that they were not suitable for the positions. To gain their end, Irish priests adopt all efficient means, whether lawful or not. For some, the end justifies the means. Again we may repeat what was said above, could we speak, "*ex abundantia cordis*," interesting things might be said, that would shock timid catholics. We must abstain from unearthing facts that would injure religion—at Rome we will divulge all details. Suffice it to say that when the present pastor of Grosvenordale, (a late arrival from Ireland) was appointed parish priest after serving THREE years, at Putnam, the people rose, *en masse*, dressed a petition to the Bishop. They wanted a priest capable of speaking to them in their own language. The pastor had learned very little French. This uprising was quelled by the pastor and his assistant. They fulminated, from the pulpit, threats to such a degree that our compatriots abandoned their plan of obtaining justice. They preferred to bear their yoke, in sweet silence—" *Jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve*—than to be chastised with ecclesiastical censures. They were threatened with excommunication! Let us say, right here, that if any one dares to question the above assertion, we are ready to prove before the proper authority the veracity of the facts. Reporters were in the church when Rev. Thomas Cooney, preaching on the Gospel of the day, threatened to excommunicate the French-Canadians, of his parish, if they did not submit to his rulings, without appeal. This unhealthy fear is the reason why, in many localities, our compatriots endure sufferings beyond description: they are afraid to be excommunicated if they appeal for justice. Believe us, dear readers, the recent convention at Willimantic will open the eyes of many. The delegates are enlightened; they know their rights and they will demand justice. Threats will no longer frighten them in the pursuit of their rights. We attended the convention and we know

whereof we speak. For the proper guidance of those who oppress our compatriots, we will submit to their attention the plan of campaign adopted. The instigator of the plan is Dr Morasse of Putnam.

“ Pour que Rome ne soit pas sous l'impression que les Canadiens de Danielson ne représentent pas la race canadienne et qu'ils sont seuls à demander ce que leur refuse Mgr Tierney, que la convention rédige en leur nom une protestation énergique et polie contre la décision de l'évêque, et que tous ses membres la signent.

Que copie de cette protestation soit envoyée dans tous les centres canadiens des Etats-Unis ; que tous ceux des huit cent mille Canado-Américains qui savent écrire la signent.....Messieurs, ce sera un spectacle digne de l'attention de la cour romaine, un spectacle original de voir des catholiques réclamer à grands cris la liberté de pratiquer leur religion, non pas auprès d'un gouvernement protestant, mais auprès des prêtres et des évêques catholiques. Le monde civilisé apprendra avec étonnement que la religion pratiquée en anglais soit indispensable au salut, tandis que la même religion pratiquée en français soit un état de choses auquel il faille mettre fin sous peu. Il est urgent, Messieurs.....que nous nous adressions aux autorités romaines, directement et sans délai, car il est de notre devoir d'étouffer cette persécution religieuse immédiatement.”

The able discourse of Dr. Morasse called forth thunderous appearance. A sober second thought may convince the good Dr Morasse that his views are not all acceptable to impartial minds. For our part, we do not endorse all his views. The French-Canadians of Danielson are not immaculate. They have made blunders, but we hold that they have a sacred right to appeal to Rome for justice. They are convinced of their mistakes and they are bound to commit no more blunders, in the pursuit of their rights. We quote this gentleman simply to show the prevailing sentiment that exists among the French-Canadians of Danielson and of the United-States. This feeling is assuming shape. The Canadians are determined to be heard. Rome at an early date will be flooded with affidavits and

certified copies bearing on the sufferings of our people. The day of our deliverance is not very remote.....

Should the above quotation prove insufficient to convince assimilators that we are to emancipate ourselves from religious thralldom we suggest to skeptics and unbelievers to peruse the famous "*mémoire*" of Hon. M. Dubuque.—This document will be in the hands of the Holy Father, at a nigh future. The Irish clergy is opposed to the appointment of French pastors over mixed parishes, when the great majority is French, because several, if not all the parishes, were created by Irish priests, particularly those along the line of the Norwich and Worcester. They even maintain that the original population was largely of Irish settlers. We will pay \$500 to any man who can make good the above statement. The parishes of *Grosvenordale*, *Putnam*, *Dayville*, *Blueville*, *Williamsville*, *Danielson*, *Wauregan*, *Jewett City*, *Baltic*, *Taftville*, *Moosup*, were originally French by a large majority. Among the founders of these parishes may be mentioned Fathers Noiseux, Migneault, etc., etc. The prevailing sentiment in the diocese of Hartford, is Americanization at any price. We conferred with an Irish D. D. of Hartford diocese and finally we remarked that the will of the Church is to teach the people in their own language. By addressing them in their own mother tongue they are more apt to be educated and thereby become better catholics.

The Church is one, says he, and she wishes *unification*; to reach that end we must compel the Canadians to abandon their language. The rest of the conversation would not interest you, in the least. We held different views and we gave vent to our feelings.....

Bearing on grievance No 2, we will enumerate the following localities:—*Willimantic*, with a Canadian population of 2,200 is full of misery. Our compatriots never assist at high mass—no admission for them—The pastor was born in Belgium, knows French well, but refuses to speak it. *Bristol* shares the same fate. During the last

retreat, preached by *Les Pères de la Salette*, strict orders were given, by the pastor, to the director of the retreat, not to address the French-Canadians in their mother-tongue. Why make a mockery of religion? This bit of information we hold from the director himself. This again we can prove to the Holy Father and we will certainly do it. *Moosup* is in a more deplorable condition. The pastor is a fairly good French scholar, but acts as though he ignored completely the language. There are 1,000 French-Canadians. Recently they mailed to Bishop Tierney, a petition couched in most polite language, calling for a French priest. The answer is expected some times after the Paris exposition in 1900 A. D.

Grosvenordale has a mission, *New Boston*, where seven hundred French-Canadians reside. They are anxious to have a priest of their nationality and are equally willing to pay for his support, etc., etc. Again the Bishop is opposed to their legitimate request. There are at present about six young French priests who would be glad to accept any of those positions. They entertain no fear of final success.

Were we to enumerate the grievances of our people, we would have to publish a large volume. For the present suffice it to mention the following localities to prove grievance number two:—*Dayville, Baltic, Jewett City, New-Hartford, Wauregan, Voluntown, Staffordsprings, New-London, Winstead*, passing over in deep silence the many fine parishes entrusted to Belgian priests who are reluctant to speak French in their respective churches. To my experience there are three young French priests serving in mixed parishes, who are compelled by the pastor to address his French people in the English language. They declined at first, because they did not know the language, but now they have got to do it. This yoking together of a young French priest with either an old Irishman or an old Belgian is a torture that can not very easily be endured. Our sympathies are for those slaves of the Lord! May they breathe in an atmosphere of religious liberty!

The present pastors of *Moosup* and *Taftville* are appointed over these parishes to learn French. The study of languages has become a part of their pastoral duties. GREAT HEAVEN !!! Were the Apostolic delegate fully informed of the existing conditions, most assuredly religion would not be allowed to suffer that the Bishop and his clergy might satisfy their own ambition. The long needed reform will eventually come. We are bound to have justice, God will not allow iniquity to pass unpunished, and to last indefinitely.....Among the mixed parishes, entrusted to Irish pastors, opposed to the use of the French language, we may mention, *Putnam* with 475 families, and *Taftville* with about 500 families. *Willimantic* has 235 families. *Greenville* and *Norwich* have a Canadian population of 600 families, still of the four attending priests, the pastor alone knows little French. For reasons unknown to us, the pastor is away from his parish about four months of the year. During that period of time French people must abstain from the sacraments (?). Were we to exhaust the grievances of our compatriots of that diocese, the perusal of our production would be a severe strain on any one's mind. We will, therefore, draw to a close the discussion for the present.....

From what we have said, in this chapter, it is evident that grievances Nos. 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, are well founded. With regard to number four, we find the proof in the dioceses of Manchester, N. H. ; Burlington, Vt. ; Portland, Maine ; Springfield, Mass. In Boston and Hartford the same policy prevails, only the French clergy is fewer in number. Fifth grievance is directed against, Manchester, Portland and Hartford. This point needs no demonstration. Any clergyman of these three dioceses, knows that we are speaking the truth. These Canadian Councilors are chosen by the Bishops, so the vote of the Clergy can not remove them from office. Even if they were elected by the clergy, the same clergy could not destitute them. As a matter of fact, in the diocese of Manchester and Portland the younger clergy conspired to

destitute certain councilors and elect some one of their choice. What was the result? They failed in the attempt. The votes were counted and it became clear as light that the Bishops repudiated the voice of the electors. We learn from good authority that the young clergy will no more cast their votes.....knowing well that it is a meaningless ceremony—a sham-fight as it were—The will of the clergy counts for naught. Traitors we have in Portland, Manchester and Hartford. Men without principles; men devoid of all sense of honor, men of whom history shall tell sorrowful tales. These Benedict Arnolds of our race, we despise! Their sullied character, and treacherous conduct is a disgrace to our nation.

Grievances nine and thirteen were given birth to in Manchester diocese. We happened to be passing through the state of N. H. shortly after an Ecclesiastical Conference, and we learned from two French priests that the Rt Rev. Bishop Bradley had openly given orders that those, whose mother-tongue was not English, would be required to speak latin. When this bit of news reaches Rome, it will undoubtedly convince His Holiness how despotic, tyrannical some Irish-American Bishops are! It is well that Rome should know these details. Grievance thirteen is the only case in the United States and probably in the whole christian world. This grievance was born in the diocese of Manchester, N. H.

In this same diocese, also in Portland, Maine, grievances ten, twelve, and eleven have their origin. We can prove before the Roman Court that in Portland, Manchester, Springfield and Hartford the diocesan statutes count for naught. The Irish clergy, under episcopal sanction, trespass on the rights of the French clergy. The Bishops overlook the general legislation of the Church to suit themselves and please ambitious parties. Few of those Bishops have received *monita* from the Apostolic Delegate, in spite of which they remained firm. We have in our possession documents with which to show how Rt Rev. Bishop Beaven treated one of his French-Canadian

pastor. The poor priest, overcome with desolation threatened to vindicate his rights. When the name of Cardinal Satolli was mentioned, for reasons unknown to all but to the interested parties, the Venerable Bishop of Springfield weakened and acquiesced to the priest's demand. Had we more priests animated with energy and courage, less acrimonious would be the policy of Rt Rev. Bishops. Of course priests are bound, by the vow of obedience; but obedience ceases to be a virtue when oppression dictates. French priests are not obliged to sacrifice themselves upon the altar of national prejudices. The French clergy is probably the most obedient body of men, in the catholic Church. Being a layman, we may reproduce what was said of the French clergy, by a convert, Mr W. H. Thorne. On page 204, vol. VI, number 22 of "The Globe Review" of New-York, we read:—*"God pity the man—English, Irish, French, Canadian, German, Italian, or what not, priest or lay man,—who expects "laissez-faire" or calm equity from any authorities in New-England. The air itself is full of tyranny. On entering the Catholic Church, I did not dream that Catholic Bishops, even in New-England, were tyrannical, under any provocation. I felt sure that the spirit of divine justice and charity guided all their lives and rulings; but I have learned that even in response of whims of mere gossips, some of them can be tyrants toward and against their own conscience and their dearest friends. What therefore, can French-Canadians expect? My association, however, with French-Canadian priests—and I have met personally overahundred of them—has proven to me that they are, as a rule, such exceptionally gifted, learned and pious gentlemen, that I did not dream any New-England bishops could find an excuse for being unjust to them Indeed when one remembers that from Brazil to Nova-Scotia to Alaska all over this western hemisphere, French speaking priests, these last three hundred years, have been the pioneers of Catholic truth, martyrs to Catholic faith and leaders in catholic scholarship, it is difficult to believe that any English, Irish or American, born Catholic bishop could under any pretence or provocation, treat the French speaking priests of our day*

with anything but the most just and loving appreciation and consideration." Pardon me for this long quotation. We hardly ever hear a good word for the French Clergy! To hear such a gifted gentleman, sing the praise of our clergy, we are moved to express to him our gratitude. Mr Thorne is one of the very best writers in the English language. His knowledge of history and spirit of justice are in keeping with the fertility of his intellect. He knows where of he speaks. For this reason we feel all the more proud. Many thanks to you, Mr. Thorne, for giving due credit to the French-Canadian Clergy. We, laymen, are proud of our clergy!.....

Before concluding my remarks, we will suggest to the Rt Rev. Bishops to meditate upon the various causes that brought about schisms! The social habits and prejudices of the faithful must be weighed to maintain unity of doctrine and brotherly charity. To perpetuate permanent harmony of action, the Bishops of the catholic Church, must bear in mind that a grave responsibility is assigned them. To blend together the various elements constituting the strenght of the Church in the U. S., ministers of God must act above all national and sectional lines. They must provide for immigrants; relieve them of oppression if they wish to retain them in the Church. Every priest and bishop is bound to aid all nationalities by the powerful teaching of active charity. Should the voice of language cease to ring in our ears, charity would still abide. "*Charity abideth, kind, patient, not seeking its own*"—To preserve strangers from falling away from the Church of God, Bishops must understand their ways and traditional peculiarities. They must become familiar with their ways by study of their habits, their privileges and peculiarities of ecclesiastical discipline. Should we extend a pole to a drowning man, and he not understanding the signification of the proffered assistance, but fearing harm from it, he would undoubtedly repel it. Before unity of feeling, sympathy in manners, can be attained we must know ourselves. Likewise Bishops

and priests must know the various elements under their jurisdiction, before they can successfully govern them in the discharge of their duties towards God. The greatest evil, with which the Church in the U. S. is afflicted, is narrowness of views. Bishops and priests, in the New England states slavishly measure the practises and convictions and motives of the French-Canadians, by the narrow standard of pre-conceived notions and limited knowledge. Our efforts to remain what we are, essentially French-Canadians, must not be condemned by our spiritual superiors, because our position is misapprehended through ignorance, for which there is no excuse among educated men. When Pope Leo XIII commissioned R. P. Nilles, professor at Insbruck, to devise means to promote the union between the East and the West into the one household of apostolic faith, he pointed out the necessity that the various national elements should know and understand one another and to make use of that knowledge, as opportunities afford to foster sacred union. May these words of His Holiness inspire the Rt. Rev. Bishops and clergy of New-England. The French-Canadians must be known thoroughly by the pastor appointed over them. As a rule Irish pastors ignore our national peculiarities, are opposed to such a spirit and consequently troubles are habitually brewing by not following the expressed will of Leo XIII.....

Why curtail our prerogatives to the detriment of religion and thereby scandalize a thinking world? It is a down right shame to know that a catholic Bishop will so forget himself as to proclaim from the pulpit, that he would not confirm any more French-Canadian children, who cannot answer catechism in English. Allusion is made to Rt. Rev. Bishop Shanley of North Dakota. These words of threats, came like a thunder clasp in a sunny heaven, after the French pastor had spoken pathetically of his own mother tongue, etc., etc., to his own French-Canadian people. What a contrast?.....

The people were not slow to understand that they were

victims of national prejudices. What an inspiring spectacle it must have been to witness, in the house of God, such clashing of arms!!! We must not allow ourselves to be carried away from the New-England States, because the abundance of matter would induce us to write too lengthily. We must confine ourselves to New-England States.....where crying abuses have crept into the highest sphere of the hierarchy. We feel reluctant to divulge, to a reading public, all we know, nevertheless we cannot refrain from stating that Canon Law is, for several bishops, a dead letter. While sejourning at the beach, (in Maine,) this summer, with few friends from Montreal and Quebec, we had the pleasure of meeting several priests from whom we gained considerable information. Among other things, some cried in our presence, while revealing their relations with their bishop. The most elementary rudiments of Canon Law were ignored and the Bishop proceeded arbitrarily against them. The direction of our Lord was discarded. The Saviour is emphatic. When he pointed out the order and course of disciplinary and criminal procedure: "*Si autem peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade, et corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum: si te audierit, lucratus eris fratrem tuum. Si autem te non audierit, adhibe tecum adhuc unum vel duos, ut in ore duorum vel trium testium stet omne verbum.*" *Quodsi non audierit eos, dic ecclesiæ; si autem ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus.* (MATH. XVIII-15.) The first step, therefore, is in the shape of a fatherly admonition. This secret reproof is of an extra-judicial procedure. The second step is "*Monitio Canonica*" i. e. reproof before witnesses. The third step is the criminal trial. In this latter step there are essential formalities that cannot be omitted, for such an omission would eventually cause the nullity of the procedure: any decision rendered under such circumstances, would be reversed by the tribunal of the highest instance. It is foreign to our mind, to look into the prescriptions of Canon Law, regarding criminal procedure against clerics,

we simply wish to state that the "*Instructio*" of the Holy Father, June 11th 1880, has been disregarded; clerics were punished unmercifully; ecclesiastical subjects were made to bear, in silence, the yoke of oppression, despotism and tyranny. We know of four cases in the dioceses of Portland, Manchester and Springfield, where French-Canadian priests were uncanonically chastised, punished, deprived of their parishes, relegated in the backwoods "*ad nutum Episcopi*." These poor priests fearing the notoriety of an appeal for justice, preferred to drag peacefully the chains of bondage, trusting in God for vindication. We admire the virtues of those priests, but oftentimes injustice is not punished here below. The Church wisely foresaw such occurrences and legislated to crush out such possible abuse of power. Could any good be derived by a regular disclosure of uncanonical treatment, towards those four Canadian priests, we would reveal all details, showing the irregularities of the criminal procedure, and consequently whereon hinges the nullity of the sentence, but public opinion is not the proper tribunal. If we indulge in this matter, at this juncture, it is to inform Rome, how unscrupulously Canon law is repudiated, to satisfy one's spirit of vindictiveness. By a transitory allusion to this matter, now, Rome will be prepared to hear our complaints, and consider our sworn affidavits. In some quarters, we have heard priests condemn our action, in this delicate matter, stating that it is without the province of a layman to discuss such ecclesiastical questions. We are a layman, it is true; our rights to grapple and dissect this subject, are well grounded. Are there no lay canonists in Rome? Did not deceased Senator Trudel, of Montreal, plead before the Roman court, to defend the weak against the strong? Was he not a layman? This cripple argument is of no avail; we will continue our work, until Rome shall have been thoroughly informed. We will also show that troubles ensued in some dioceses, because Bishops refused to promulgate the recent decree against The Knights of Pythias, Sons of

Temperance and Odd Fellows—even unto this day, this important document remains to be promulgated in at least two dioceses of the United States. It is as easy to violate canonical prescriptions, bearing on criminal procedure, as it is to refuse to comply with the Holy Father's explicit orders touching the three condemned societies. In this country of liberty, freedom of action reigns supreme. We may here repeat the words of Cardinal Simeoni to a missionary priest of the Western States:—"We cannot grant you the favor sought for, but ask your bishop he may do it. These American bishops have more power than Rome." We quote from memory! Forbear if we are not quoting textually, we are positive that we are right as to the substance.

This lack of submission, on the part of some Ordinaries, regarding the condemned societies, has intensified public sentiments. Priests in the discharge of their duties, incur the wrath of a sensitive public, because they comply with the statutes of the diocese, whereas Bishops do not. A great scandal was fostered upon an intelligent public at Marlboro, Mass. An excommunicated, Knight of Pythias, died without receiving the last sacraments and was given a catholic burial. The Archbishop of Boston authorized the Pastor..... to give the deceased knight of Pythias a funeral mass and a christian, catholic burial.

We know that in the New-England States thousands of catholics refuse to assent to the decree of Rome alleging that they are not bound. Their resisting attitude receives tacit encouragement from Bishops. "*Qui tacet, videtur consentire.*" Priests and lay people are willing and do comply with the orders of Rome, but men of wavering faith will avail themselves of any plausible pretext to discontinue the expressed injunctions of the Pope. "*Verba movent, sed exempla trahunt.*" The examples of the Bishops give to the lay people a foothold for resistance. This continent of America was severely shocked at the stand taken by some Bishops, and the effects will be felt for years to come. Religion received a severe shock. Religion re-

ceives, at present, a terrible blow in Louisiana. Forces are concentrated to abolish the French language, as a necessary result the white, creoles, and colored people abandon the church. Since Louisiana has been sold to the United States, the French language has been untrammelled. Since Archbishop Jansens' accession to power, the French element of Louisiana, particularly the city of New-Orleans, has been treated to a dose of modern medicine—we mean Americanization. At present the Archbishop, who by the way is the first bishop who ever spoke English from the pulpit of the cathedral of New-Orleans, has sworn to discard the language of Bossuet and Molière for that of Shakespeare. Public sentiment is at fever heat, and religion is agonizing. We can prove an assertions. This information we hold from an eminent writer, whose columns are opened to scrutiny. Peruse *L'Observateur Louisianais* for the years 1895-96 and you shall find a remarkably well written article, entitled "*La Religion en Louisiane.*" Besides we are in relation with learned and pious priests, who supplied us with the necessary data.

We can easily convince Roman authorities that the Catholic Church is losing grounds in this country. We ought to have, at least, 18,000,000 catholics, whereas we have hardly 10,000,000. They have fallen away from the fold through a gross disregard of the decrees of the III Plenary Council of Baltimore, bearing on the parochial school question. The percentage of parochial schools is ridiculously low in Boston, St. Paul and New-Orleans archdioceses. In this latter province the catholics are going to the dogs. There must be something radically wrong when 4 children out of 100 go to parochial schools. Of what avail will be the statutes of the late Diocesan Synod of St. Louis? In many dioceses of the New-England States there is a law compelling pastors to have parochial schools—it is a dead law—Laws we have too many; what is wanted is submission. Let the Bishops enforce the laws; compel catholic children to attend catholic

schools and a bright future awaits us! The catholic school contains the seed of true civilization. "*Bonitatem, disciplinam et scientiam doce me.*" It is then obvious that, from ocean to ocean, the spirit of the Irish clergy is the same. The prevailing sentiment is Americanization at any cost. This country must become Irish-American; any one who will dare to impede our design will incur Episcopal and Sacerdotal wrath. From the pulpit, from the *rostrum* threats are hurled at our compatriots—they are victims of a do or die policy. The press is at work for the speedy execution of that nefariously concocted scheme of denationalization. This powerful factor, the press, is a docile agent in the hands of our racial opponents. To what depth has mankind fallen! Money moves to action, be it good, bad or indifferent. Thank God, there are journalists, who will never forsake their honor and integrity to foster ambition, pride and serve selfish motives. Men like Messrs. Thorne of New York and Arthur Preuss of St. Louis, are worthy specimens of catholic writers. They are refined and polished gentlemen, of principles, who will face the most obstinate oppression to vindicate the rights of the down-trodden. Would to God there were more of that class! On the other hand, we find unscrupulous characters, who, for money consideration, will fill their newspapers with columns of abusive epithets. They never look into the justice of the cause. We are sorry to find two anointed of the Lord, who grace or disgrace the editorial chair of the "Freeman's Journal" and of "The Rosary" both of New York City, mingle their forces with our common enemy. The Freeman's Journal with its traditional policy of narrowmindedness and treachery assailed us, then refused to publish our rejoinder. This course is anything but an honorable one. We call it traditional, because Dr. O'Mahony, of Milwaukee, was some years ago, treated to a similar dose of medicine. At the time, he published his volume "*Jura Sacerdotum Vindicata*," he was unmercifully treated by a certain

anonymous writer, who signed "*Clericus*." The columns of the *Freeman* were thrown open to "*Clericus*," but closed against Dr. O'Mahony's noble defence. None but cowards will assault an enemy in the thickest of the night. This policy of cowardice was adopted by Fr. Lambert's *Journal*. With reference to the Rev. Dominican Fathers, of Lexington Avenue, New York, we have little to say. That Rome may judge them by their works, we subjoin an extract of "*The Rosary*."—June number, 1896.

This brochure will be sent throughout the four cardinal points of this continent, consequently the clergy, Roman, American and Canadian, will know to what mode of warfare the Dominican Fathers of New York City are proficient in. For the edification of an enlightened world we quote:—

"We also desire to call Mr. Thorne's attention to his serious blunder in printing the wretched, calumnious charges of that Canadian disturber St. Laurent, whose recent pamphlet on French-Canadian ecclesiastical affairs in this country, is a tissue of falsehoods. The attack on the New-England Bishops who, according to St. Laurent, discriminate, in various ways, against the French speaking priests and people, is a piece of contemptible and treacherous ingratitude. We are somewhat familiar with this question of so called national churches, and we only express the general sentiment of priests and people in New-England, outside of the irreclaimable cranks, ingrates and rebels, when we say that the dealings of the bishops have, in every instance, been characterized by extreme gentleness, forbearance, indulgence, long suffering, patience, and fatherly tenderness."

This strain of malicious invectives called forth the following rejoinder, which appeared in "*l'Opinion Publique*" of Worcester, Mass.

Mons. le Rédacteur :—

Dans l'intérêt de la religion et pour l'honneur des Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, je ne puis passer sous silence les élucubrations intempestives des Révérends

Pères Dominicains de l'avenue Lexington, ville de New-York.

Dans la livraison de juin du "*Rosary*," la rédaction étale les fruits de son ignorance. De l'ignorance à l'injure, il n'y a qu'un pas ! En général les fils de Saint-Dominique, partout où ils se trouvent, sont des hommes sages, instruits, tolérants, et agissent avec une prudence consommée. Dans le cas qui nous occupe, l'indiscrétion domine. Evidemment cette dérogation est due à une cause extrinsèque à l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs. Serait-ce le salin de la mer qui infuse sur le cerveau du rédacteur ? Serait-ce des préjugés de race qui faussent son jugement et le poussent jusqu'à la calomnie ? Dans tous les cas c'est un cerveau malade qui a enfanté l'entrefilet ci-dessus.

Ces bons religieux nous prêchent la charité, l'amour du prochain, etc., et à titre d'exemple, ils promènent une plume mensongère, injurieuse, calomniatrice, sur les pages du "*Rosary*." Jésus n'a pas converti les peuples au moyen d'injures et de calomnies.....

Saint Paul a converti les gentils par la prière et la prédication. Quand la fureur de ses compatriotes se rallume contre lui, il se dérobe la nuit contre leur rage, et demande à Dieu, dans le silence et le recueillement, le courage de mettre en pratique la loi de l'amour du prochain, qu'il enseigne aux nations. Le rédacteur du "*Rosary*," muni des grâces d'état, peut convertir les peuples égarés, mais comme journaliste, il fait preuve d'une grande faiblesse. Comment peut-il se prononcer sur la gouverne des diocèses de la Nouvelle-Angleterre ? Serait-ce en vertu d'un contrat avec Mons. Pulitzer, du "*World Building*" ? Peut-être que du sommet de cette tour l'écrivain du "*Rosary*" surveille les agissements des évêques et du peuple ! Même avec une lunette d'approche, il ne peut qu'imiter le chef de l'observatoire de Washington, D. C., i. e., tromper sans le vouloir ni le savoir. Serait-ce encore sur l'île Bedloe que le rédacteur du "*Rosary*" rédige ses entrefilets à l'adresse de St-Laurent ? Si c'est là qu'il s'inspire, évidemment, la statue de la Liberté, qui illumine le port de la grande métropole,

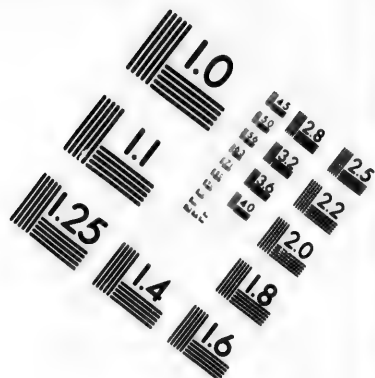
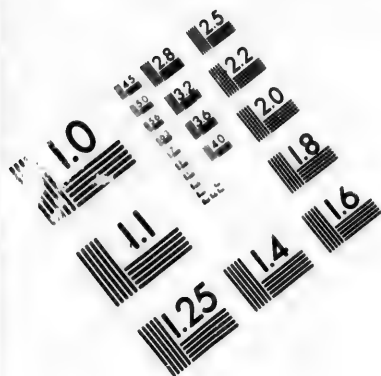
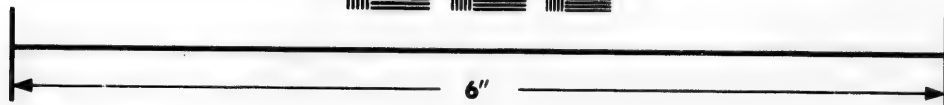
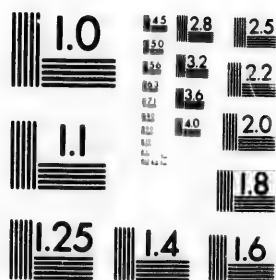


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sommeillait pendant que sa plume faisait des tours de force ? Elle a dû lui soustraire sa lumière ! Non, mon Rév. Père, je vous confirme ma déclaration première, ma brochure intitulée "*Germanization and Americanization compared*" ne contient que la vérité. Elle ne renferme pas un fait que je ne puisse prouver, avec des preuves écrasantes. Si j'étais à vos yeux les souffrances morales et physiques dont se plaignent les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, vous rougiriez de vos paroles honteuses et mensongères. Si vous avez pour mission de calomnier et de faire tort au prochain, vous remplissez bien votre rôle ; mais si vous êtes journaliste pour défendre l'opprimé, votre conduite est indigne d'un cœur chrétien. Mon Rév. Père, je vous quitte avec regret, mais je me propose de vous visiter en septembre prochain.

Quand vous lirez ma seconde brochure, vous comprendrez que vous avez dénigré les Canadiens Français des Etats-Unis et que vous m'avez calomnié sans miséricorde. Je finis, en vous répétant les paroles du divin Maître :—

"Pardonnez-leur, mon Père, car ils ne savent pas ce qu'ils font."

CHARLES F. ST-LAURENT.

Montréal, Canada,
24 juillet 1896.

With reference to the editor's qualifying adjuncts—extreme gentleness, forbearance, indulgence, long suffering, patience and fatherly tenderness, we must express our surprise that the Rev. editor did not reproduce the twelve gifts of the Holy Ghost ! Probably he was out of breath. Of course Rt. Rev. Bishops have received the plenitude of the Holy Ghost. If the editor will indulge in a complete course of gymnastic, probably he can stand the strain of another article, in which he can display to advantage his fitness for long-winded elucubration. The above is a sample of the charitable prose we had occasion to read. This style of attack is a positive evidence of a weak and desperate cause. Evidently the good Fathers would like to crush and

annihilate us! Oh! but good Fathers, Canadians are made out of sterling stuff! England tried for 150 years to feed her ambition and pride at our expense, but at last, in despair, she, like a rapacious and ravenous lion, had to look elsewhere for food to satisfy her craving appetite. The above elucubration will convince Roman authorities that religion, in this country, is in a *heart-rending* plight, and that the Rt. Rev. Bishops are fighting, with a courage born of despair, to Americanize the French-Canadians; for, to encompass the object of their craving ambition, they enroll to their service the editor of the "*Rosary*": "*Igitur ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.*" (MATH., VII. 20.) Men are known by their works; journalists are known by their prose, just as trees are known by their fruits.

"*Uno avulso, non deficit aliter.*" In the literary horizon storms broke out on all sides. The Morning Star of New Orleans; The Kansas City Catholic; The Freeman's Journal indulged in bitter sarcasms and fulminated against us. We cannot reproduce the passionate prose of all these aggressive editors, but we deem it expedient to reproduce the opinion of the editor of the Kansas City Catholic:

"In its issue of March 5th, "The Review" (now of St. Louis, Mo.) is out after some body, and as usual, with a sharp pointed stick. This time, however, it is with some other body's sharp pointed stick. It devotes an entire column and a half to a series of charges brought by a certain M. St. Laurent, of Montreal, against New England Bishops and New England Irish priests. The charges are of a serious nature, and if true religion in the New England States must be in a rather poor condition, so far, that is to say, as the French-Canadians Catholics are concerned. Their condition is hardly better than was that of the catholics of Ireland before Emancipation. But we don't believe they are true. These Irish Bishops and Irish Priests would not only be neglecting their sacred and bounded duties, but would be stultifying themselves, if, half what Mr. St. Laurent says, is true. Instead of

parading those charges in the public prints, why do not *Mr. St. Laurent and his backers bring them before the proper church authorities?* Archbishop Williams of Boston, is a just and wise man, and we are just as sure as we are writing these lines that he would examine into those charges and have the abuses complained of corrected with the least delay possible."

We have complied with the editor's request, by furnishing him the following facts: "We do not bring our charges before Archbishop Williams of Boston, because we know that he will refuse to hear them. The largest French-Canadian parishes in the archdiocese of Boston have not Canadian pastors. Those at Haverhill, Lawrence, Boston and Cambridge, are in charge of Marist Fathers; Lowell with a Canadian population of 19,545 souls has been given to the Oblate Fathers. The most important question for the French-Canadians in New England is that of the schools. If we have Canadian parish schools we can bring up our children as good catholics. Without schools of our own they will get lost in the "*grand tout américain*." Now, Mgr. Williams is opposed to parochial schools. Cardinal Simeoni, some years ago, in a conversation with a venerable Sulpitian Father of Montreal, said: "*What can the Bishops of the Boston Province do, when the metropolitan is radically opposed to the parochial school system?*" Has the Archbishop modified his views since? The catholic Directory with its silent language answers in the negative. In consideration of those facts, would it not be puerile on our part to expect redress from Mgr Williams? Again can we expect a fair hearing from the venerable Metropolitan of Boston? Did he give a hearing to Father Ponsardin of Biddeford, Maine, while he labored under ecclesiastical censure? He was refused a hearing, contrary to the provision of Canon law. Father Ponsardin appealed to Rome and won his case. The Bishop of Portland had to reinstate him in his former parish. In the face of such facts we had no other means at our disposal to air our grievances, but the

public prints. The editor of the Kansas City Catholic was evidently satisfied of our explanation, for, from that time, he became sphinx-like...

The next warrior who displayed fighting inclination was Rev. Fr. Lambert of The Freeman's Journal. With due respect for the Rev. editor, we cannot withhold in abeyance our surprise at his narrowmindedness. He bitterly assailed us, then refused us the hospitality of his columns for our defence. This policy lacks dignity. This method is devoid of all sense of honor and equity. A man chastised, accused, has an ineradicable right to be heard. No court of justice will convict a man without giving him a fair trial. Injustice is never excusable, when committed by lay people, far less by ministers of God. That we may not be taxed with a sense of exaggeration, we will submit Fr. Lambert's charges to our readers: "Every true catholic of whatever nationality will condemn the spirit of obstinacy which provokes Mr St. Laurent to add that if all authority up to the Pope himself eventually decides against his cause, they will put themselves into the hands of the divine mercy which assists the counsel of the powerful and permits iniquities, but never permits iniquity to triumph indefinitely. If this means anything, it means that although bishops and Pope, i. e., the authority of the Catholic Church, should decide against him, Mr. St. Laurent will still believe that he is right and they are all wrong." Poor Father Lambert, is that the kind of logic you used to annihilate Bob Ingersoll? Our reply to this attack was published in "L'Opinion Publique" of Worcester. We will not reproduce our rejoinder. We prefer to publish the opinion of an eminent journalist, touching the true meaning of the circular, which Rev. Fr. Lambert christened—"A mischievous circular." There are none so blind are those who will not see!

That the public at large, particularly the Roman authorities may judge Father Lambert's attitude, in this case it is well to reproduce our circular to the clergy of the United States. At the head of this movement are found

two laymen. This feature may appear strange at first, but a sober second thought will show the wisdom of the selection. No cleric can be the instigator of such a movement without incurring grave responsibility, to say the least. We have been chosen to proclaim the rights of the French-Canadians and to appeal to Rome for redress of grievances. We are both living on neutral grounds, consequently we are free from ecclesiastical restraint. Our line of action is mapped out by the "*Advisory-Board*," composed of eminent Franco-Canadian priests of the United States.

MONTREAL, P. Q., 6 mai 1896.

MONS. L'ABBÉ: —La brochure, "*Germanization and Americanization compared*," qui vous a été dernièrement expédiée ainsi qu'aux évêques et à tout le clergé canadien des Etats-Unis, était destinée, dans la pensée de l'auteur, à être suivie de plusieurs autres travaux qui verront le jour graduellement. Charles F. Saint-Laurent, vous n'en avez probablement pas douté, n'est qu'un pseudonyme. Ce nom recouvre, soyez-en certain, une personnalité qui peut donner toutes les garanties morales pour l'œuvre qu'il a entreprise en communauté avec des membres importants du clergé.

Je me hâte de vous dire avec joie qu'une foule de prêtres ont donné leur plus entière adhésion à ce mouvement de revendication de nos droits de catholiques canadiens. Plusieurs ont ajouté quelques suggestions pratiques que nous serons heureux d'adopter, et pour lesquelles je les remercie de tout cœur au nom du Comité.

Voici le plan que nous nous proposons d'adopter et de suivre. Nous voulons, au moyen de publications autres que celle que vous avez déjà reçue, faire connaître nos griefs au public ecclésiastique, pour réveiller les consciences endormies, et montrer à toutes les âmes honnêtes que nous gémissons sous le joug d'un ostracisme que nous n'avons pas mérité de porter. Depuis trop longtemps, à certains endroits, on nous traite en parias de la famille

catholique ; comme si nous n'avions pas en ce pays et ailleurs porté le poids du jour et de la chaleur ; comme si une foule des établissements religieux n'étaient pas en bonne partie le fruit de nos travaux et de nos sueurs ; comme si nous avions, plus que d'autres, contristé par notre conduite le cœur de notre mère l'Eglise. Non ; nous voulons le proclamer bien haut, et le prouver à la face du monde civilisé, les Canadiens ne sont pas d'une race abâtardie ; leurs prêtres ne sont pas des mercenaires qui n'ont droit qu'à la plus maigre pitance et au mépris des autres nations.

Il est plus que temps de lever la tête, de sonner le clairon de l'alarme, et de crier à nos spoliateurs : " Nous sommes injustement lésés ; rendez-nous les droits que vous nous avez volés." Voilà ce que nous voulons faire et dire, toujours *respectueusement*, parce que ceux que nous attaquons sont revêtus d'un caractère sacré que nous savons vénérer ; mais *franchement* parce que c'est un devoir, si pénible qu'il puisse être parfois, de démasquer l'injustice et l'absence de bonne foi, où qu'elles se trouvent d'ailleurs.

Afin de procéder sûrement, de ne pas nous exposer à des ennuis et des mécomptes, je viens, Monsieur l'abbé, au nom du Comité, vous prier de vouloir bien nous aider de votre travail et de vos lumières. Pour cela, nous serions heureux, si vous pouviez vous joindre à nous, en nous faisant parvenir l'exposé des griefs que vous auriez personnellement, où dont vous auriez eu connaissance, avec des explications détaillées qui pourraient nous servir dans la lutte, et garnir d'armes notre arsenal qui n'en est pourtant pas dépourvu dès maintenant. Aussi, nous serions reconnaissant de tout écrit dans lequel vous donneriez votre manière de voir sur la manière dont nous sommes traités, et des arguments nouveaux, ou autres moyens de défense. Si la rédaction vous pèse trop, nous nous en chargerons volontiers : toutefois s'il vous était loisible de rédiger vous-même tout ce que vous jugerez bon de nous en-

voyer, ce serait un lourd fardeau de moins pour nous. Je me hâte de vous affirmer sur ma parole *d'honneur* que le *secret* vous sera *inviolablement* gardé, et que jamais, pour aucune raison, votre nom ne sera accolé à aucune pièce de la lutte. Nous savons qu'ici, la position du prêtre canadien est délicate, et qu'un nom peut compromettre notre position.

Puis quand la cause sera parfaitement connue et appréciée du clergé, quand le branle sera donné, quand le travail d'organisation aura relié entre eux les prêtres canadiens de l'*Union Américaine*, il sera temps de faire entrer avec nous l'élément laïque, comme auxiliaire. Nous croyons qu'avant tout c'est le clergé qui doit agir, parce que c'est lui qui a la mission de diriger dans les affaires de race et de religion. C'est lui qui a formé la patrie canadienne avec son auréole éblouissante de qualités nationales ; c'est à lui de voir que nous ne soyons pas étouffés dans les serres d'un despotisme étranger. Les laïques marcheront avec enthousiasme à sa suite ; et les plus intelligents et les mieux disposés seront toujours prêts à rompre en visière en sa compagnie, quand le temps sera venu.

Nous voulons qu'au moment donné, tous les Canadiens se lèvent en masse dans leur puissance, pour venger leur dignité outragée et reconquérir leurs droits odieusement foulés aux pieds. Le mouvement que nous entreprenons aujourd'hui ne sera pas seulement un simple feu de paille ; nous en ferons une action stratégique aussi bien dirigée que possible, persévérante et victorieuse. Et si l'autorité locale prête une oreille sourde et inattentive à nos supplications ; si elle se bouche les oreilles pour ne pas entendre nos cris de détresse, nous irons, forts de la justice de notre cause, jusqu'aux pieds du trône du Vicaire de Jésus-Christ sur la terre, et là nous avons le ferme espoir d'être exaucés. Le Souverain Pontife ne demande pas qu'on nous mène au ciel à coups d'anglais ; il veut que l'on s'adresse au peuple dans sa langue, et qu'on lui parle pour

qu'il comprenne. Il sait que le prêtre est fait pour le peuple et non le peuple pour le prêtre. Son action, en faveur des Italiens résidant aux Etats-Unis, montre avec surabondance qu'il ne veut pas de l'unification forcée.

Voilà, Monsieur l'abbé, la thèse que nous voulons développer sous toutes ses formes. Montrer que plusieurs de nos évêques agissent contrairement à la pensée du Pape dans le traitement qu'ils nous infligent, voilà notre programme pour obtenir justice. Ce programme, nous le croyons sage, et avec votre aide, nous sommes bien décidés à le faire triompher. En tous cas, nous ne mettrons bas les armes que lorsqu'on aura fait disparaître les causes de la lutte. Et si, contre tout espoir, nous devons sortir de là écrasés et vaincus, au moins nous tomberons comme des hommes de cœur, qui n'auront jamais douté de la sainteté de leur cause, et qui auront lutté avec toute leur énergie pour la faire triompher. Puis nous nous en remettons à la miséricorde divine, qui assiste aux conseils de tous les puissants, permet bien des iniquités, mais ne laisse jamais le mal indéfiniment victorieux.

En terminant, Monsieur l'abbé, permettez-moi de vous dire que la brochure que vous avez reçue, et qui contient à la fois l'exposé de la cause et l'énoncé des griefs que nous voulons prouver, a été imprimée et distribuée aux frais de l'auteur sans le secours ni l'aide du Comité, qui n'a encore aucun fonds. Nous devons donc forcément faire appel à votre générosité pour nous fournir *le nerf de la guerre*, à mesure que se développera notre programme. Nous serions déjà prêt à faire paraître une seconde publication, si l'argent ne nous faisait complètement défaut. Il nous faut compter sur un mouvement général des Canadiens pour nous appuyer de *bouche* et de *bourse* dans notre œuvre.

Nous avons l'espoir que cet appel sera entendu, et, qu'en battant le fer pendant qu'il est chaud, nos ennemis seront forcés avant longtemps d'admettre que nous sommes sérieux et qu'ils feront mieux d'abandonner la lutte contre nous.

Dans l'attente de vos bons offices, je me souscris avec reconnaissance anticipée, etc., etc.,

Votre dévoué en N.-S.,

CHARLES F. ST-LAURENT, *Sec.*

COMITÉ ECCLÉSIASTIQUE,

Montréal, Canada.

N. B. — Adressez toutes correspondances, chargées ou non, au Trésorier du Comité,

MONS. Ls.-N. DUMOUCHEL, N. P.,

N° 68, rue St-Jacques,

Montréal, P. Q.

This circular was disfigured by Rev. Father Lambert, for what purpose, we know not. Let us now compare the Rev. editor's elucubration to the sagacious remarks of "L'observateur Louisianais."—Bearing on my brochure, the editor was moved to say: "M. St-Laurent croit que toutes ces injustices sont de nature à diminuer la foi et à semer des germes de zizanie qui peuvent susciter des malheurs irréparables.

Rien n'est plus odieux et plus décourageant pour le clergé et pour le peuple que de voir des flatteurs imberbes, pauvres de vertu comme de science, arrivés d'hier, nommés à des postes importants, tandis que les vieux, qui ont peiné et porté le poids du jour, restent dans la misère et meurent de chagrin dans l'oubli. Comment voulez-vous exiger de ces hommes qu'ils croient à la vertu et à la justice de leurs chefs? Comment voulez-vous faire croire au peuple que l'obéissance doit être aveugle?

Les réflexions de M. Saint-Laurent sont remplies de vérité. Tant qu'il n'y aura pas dans chaque diocèse un sénat de prêtres, choisis entièrement par les prêtres eux-mêmes, pour tenir la balance de la justice, le champ du favoritisme sera toujours ouvert. Si l'Evêque était le pouvoir exécutif dans le gouvernement du diocèse, on simplifierait de beaucoup cette question. Sans doute, par le

droit divin, il est établi chef pour régir l'Eglise. Mais ce qui se fait en Europe peut se faire en Amérique. Ordinairement, le conseil de l'Evêque propose les candidats aux différentes places vacantes et l'Evêque ne s'écarte guère ou jamais de la décision de son conseil. M. Saint-Laurent ajoute, en terminant, qu'en agissant de la sorte, les Evêques d'Amérique ouvrent le chemin au schisme.

Le Christ a envoyé ses apôtres enseigner toutes les nations par le fait qu'il leur a dit de parler toutes les langues et de les respecter toutes. Le palais de la Propagande à Rome est la véritable image de l'Eglise: on y parle toutes les langues. C'est donc le droit des Canadiens émigrés aux Etats-Unis de demander des prêtres de leur nationalité dès lors qu'il sont prêts à payer les frais de leur entretien comme ceux du culte. Refuser une telle demande paraît une chose contraire à l'esprit de l'Eglise, qui est pleine de charité pour tous ses enfants. Passing to the editor's observations, touching our circular he says:—

"Le but que se propose cette association, à laquelle nous souhaitons tous les succès qu'elle mérite, est de mettre au grand jour les injustices que le haut clergé américain a commises contre les coutumes, les usages et les lois de l'Eglise, contre les chrétiens qui ne veulent point renoncer à leur langue. Certains membres de la hiérarchie s'inquiétant peu des âmes et de la conscience, ont voulu avant tout faire du patriotisme ridicule. Etrangers eux-mêmes dans ce pays, écorchant plus ou moins la langue de Webster, ils se posent en purs Américains et ne peuvent point tolérer d'autre idiome que celui-là. Croient-ils aux âmes ces hommes qui veulent tout niveler à leur mesure et qui ne font monter aux places que les pleutres de la flatterie et de la honte, toutes choses qui tiennent la bouche close? Oui, il est opportun de jeter quelques lueurs sur les intrigues employées pour arriver au pouvoir et aussi sur les persécutions qu'on exerce sur les prêtres et sur les peuples qui refusent de renoncer au catéchisme qu'on leur a appris dans les sanctuaires de la vraie science."

Now, Fr. Lambert will please take, with good grace, his

medicine! "Le *Freeman's Journal* prend à partie la brochure de M. St-Laurent sur le sort fait aux Canadiens catholiques par les Evêques des Etats-Unis. Cet écrit malveillant blesse, d'après lui, les oreilles françaises autant qu'américaines. Il ne faut pas oublier que le point de vue auquel on se place présente les choses sous des jours différents. Le *Freeman* ne nie pas les torts de certains Evêques à l'endroit des Canadiens; il ne saurait le faire parce qu'il sait mieux que personne ce que sont les Evêques américains. Ce qu'il critique c'est donc le procédé employé par M. St-Laurent pour arriver à ses fins. M. St-Laurent promet de ne pas déposer les armes jusqu'à ce que la question soit bien connue et que pleine lumière soit faite, non seulement devant le pouvoir ecclésiastique des Etats-Unis, mais devant Rome. En ce faisant, il ne commet aucune faute, c'est le droit de chacun d'en appeler au pouvoir suprême de l'Eglise. Nous sommes même persuadé que Rome, en bien des cas, renverserait les décisions de Washington si appel était interjeté, les influences locales ayant toujours le privilège d'obscurcir la vérité et de donner une mauvaise propension à la balance de la justice. Il n'y a donc aucun mépris à l'égard du Délégué; on se soumet à sa décision jusqu'à ce que l'autorité au-dessus ait rendu son jugement. Ceci est tout à fait dans l'ordre. Il est rare que les prêtres trouvent raison devant les tribunaux du pays, tandis qu'ils font reconnaître souvent leurs droits et leur innocence devant la Cour de Rome. Sans doute, la délégation est animée du meilleur vouloir pour rendre justice à chacun; mais vous n'empêcherez jamais les mille obstacles qu'on peut semer sur le chemin du pauvre diable qui n'a pas les ressources voulues. Le Délégué doit quelque peu compter sur les Evêques pour le côté matériel, et cette raison, bien que secondaire, a toujours quelque poids dans les affaires de ce bas monde.

Lorsque M. St-Laurent dit qu'il faudra s'en remettre à la Providence si Rome venait aussi à rejeter la cause des Canadiens, cela ne veut pas dire, n'en déplaise au

Freeman, que les Evêques et le Pape ont tort, et que M. St-Laurent a seul raison. D'après nous, cela signifie qu'il faudra prier, afin qu'un jour la question, mieux connue, soit revisée en faveur des Canadiens. M. St-Laurent ne traite pas une thèse dogmatique où toutes les paroles doivent être pesées; il plaide une cause disciplinaire qui ne touche en rien aux dogmes. Et il a bien le droit de penser que, si les Evêques des Etats-Unis ne lui font pas justice, le Pape le fera, s'il peut arriver à l'exacte connaissance de la situation—ce qui n'est pas toujours aussi facile qu'on le croit. Plus on est élevé, plus on est exposé à être mal informé, parce qu'on n'a, à l'entour de soi, que des hommes haut placés eux-mêmes, et souvent intéressés.

Lorsqu'il s'agit des Italiens, le Pape envoie des prêtres italiens, les investit d'une autorité pouvant, au besoin, défier celle de l'Evêque, pour venir au secours des Italiens qui ne parlent pas ou qui ne veulent pas parler la langue des Etats-Unis. Pourquoi les Canadiens n'auraient-ils pas les mêmes droits? Ce qu'ils demandent est tout conforme à la tradition de l'Eglise, et ils ne sont pas la partie la moins intéressante de la grande famille chrétienne.

Ledit journal objecte à ce que M. Saint Laurent se cache sous un pseudonyme. Quel mal voit-il à cela? Tous les jours certains écrivains se cachent sous un nom de plume; veulent-ils rester inconnus pour cela? Pas le moins du monde. C'est une mode. M. Saint-Laurent ne se cache pas autant qu'on le veut bien dire, puisqu'il donne sa véritable adresse et que chacun peut lui écrire ou aller le voir en personne pour savoir s'il est quelqu'un. (We are not supposed to be a living curiosity placed on exhibition in a museum. Any one desirous to meet us will please correspond and we shall entertain personally any man at No 66 St. James Street, Montreal. We are away often, travelling to and fro, and we cannot always be in Montreal to satisfy the ravenous appetites of reporters or curious spectators.)

Le *Freeman* lui reproche de donner de mauvais conseils

aux prêtres, en leur disant qu'il taira leurs noms dans le cas où ils croiraient devoir lui fournir des renseignements utiles à sa cause. Cela encore se passe de la sorte dans tous les bureaux de journaux. On n'est pas obligé de donner les noms des auteurs. Le nom n'est pas un péché, et il n'est pas besoin de le confesser. Maintenant, le *Freeman* n'ignore pas que les Evêques sont des hommes et restent hommes sous la mitre autant que sous l'habit ordinaire. Ils ont les mêmes passions et peut-être plus violentes parce qu'elles sont attisées plus souvent par les occasions plus fréquentes. On veut nous persuader que le roi de France ou d'ailleurs ne se souvient pas des griefs qu'avait le prince aspirant, mais cette doctrine est intenable. Il n'y a rien de rancuneux comme les personnes recouvertes d'un habit religieux. Autant l'habit religieux est commun, autant l'esprit religieux est rare. Les faits de ce genre pullulent, et il serait bien superflu d'en donner des exemples. Donc, M. St-Laurent, qui n'est pas étranger en la matière, a cru devoir tenir compte des vindictes épiscopales en garantissant le secret à ses correspondants. Sans doute, il y a quelque chose de répugnant à ne pas oser dire ouvertement ce qu'on pense ; mais le désir de monter autant que la peur d'être châtié, un jour ou l'autre, puisque l'autorité a des casiers spéciaux et indestructibles pour ces méfaits, font que tous courbent la tête et plient le genou devant le soleil du jour. Comment oser s'aventurer à encourir sa disgrâce ? C'est souvent une question de vie ou de mort, ce qui veut dire de mort. M. Saint-Laurent a vu parfaitement juste, et garantir l'incognito est très souvent le seul moyen de connaître la vérité." The above lucid explanation of our circular as well as our method of procedure will undoubtedly convince the *Freeman*, that he made a grave mistake when he deliberately chastised us. Our stand in this matter is approved by the leading catholic writers of this country and Canada. "La Presse" of Montreal said, in an editorial regarding our brochure: "La thèse est bien développée, l'argumentation est d'une logique serrée, les exemples historiques bien

choisis et le tout est présenté sous la forme respectueuse qu'un catholique doit toujours conserver en s'adressant aux autorités ecclésiastiques, surtout en discutant avec elles. La publication de cette brochure n'est pas inopportune; les rapports entre les paroisses canadiennes et leurs évêques, dans la Nouvelle-Angleterre, sont actuellement assez tendus en plusieurs endroits et on ne saurait trop insister auprès des évêques irlandais de ces diocèses pour leur faire comprendre que leur zèle national met en danger le succès de leur ministère religieux." Other authorities might be quoted, but further reproduction would enlarge our pamphlet. We will not close these lines without presenting to our readers the masterly article of M. Remi Tremblay. This gentleman enjoys a wide reputation. He is a deep thinker, an impartial man, and a jurist. "Le Monde" of Montreal criticized our policy of action, and condemned our conduct, because we do not carry out our promises. This assertion is gratuitous, as we shall prove later on. "Depuis quelque temps, un certain personnage qui se cache sous le pseudonyme de Charles F. St-Laurent, fait beaucoup de bruit au moyen de brochures, de circulaires et de correspondances insérées dans l'*Opinion Publique* de Worcester, Mass., à propos de revendications de droits qu'il prétend avoir été violés et qu'il faudrait défendre devant les autorités épiscopales et même devant le Saint-Siège..... Il n'y a pas de mal, certes, à procurer aux opprimés, s'il y en a, le moyen de se faire rendre justice; mais il nous semble, à notre point de vue de simple fidèle, que la discipline de l'Eglise doit pourvoir à tous les besoins sans l'intermédiaire d'un personnage, peut-être bien intentionné, mais qui a le tort d'agir en dehors de l'autorité compétente. Il a aussi le tort de promettre ce qu'il ne tient pas, c'est-à-dire de se révéler à ceux qui viendront l'aller voir à l'adresse donnée..... Cette manœuvre n'est pas de nature à inspirer confiance "To my mind the assumptions of "Le Monde" are deplorable and the writer displays crippled arguments. His argumentation rests on suppositions.

He ought to know that there are laws governing the faithful and canonical prescriptions compelling Bishops to be just and merciful toward the catholics of their dioceses. As a matter of fact, there are too many laws and not enough obedience to established laws. The laws of the III Council of Baltimore are oftentimes discarded, as we have proven in our preceeding chapters. If the editor of "*Le Monde*" ignores, what every educated man, in the United States, knows, he ought not to discuss such an important subject. For his future guidance, we advise him to peruse the "*mémoire*, of Hon. Hugo Dubuque, also the various papers that were read before the Willimantic Convention. These papers embody the sufferings of our compatriots of Connecticut—they are supposed to convey only local grievances, whereas the application is general. The grievances of our people of Connecticut are a sample of the grievances of other New England dioceses. A careful perusal of our brochure will have a tendency to modify the opinion of the writer of "*Le Monde*" "*Depuis quand*," says M. R. Tremblay, "*est-ce un crime de demander justice? Affirmer témérairement qu'un homme est agitateur, dans la mauvaise acception du mot, ce n'est pas répondre à ses arguments. Les intérêts religieux et nationaux des catholiques franco-canadiens des Etats-Unis sont-ils, oui ou non, sacrifiés aux tendances assimilatrices de l'épiscopat irlandais-américain? Là est toute la question.*"

M. Saint-Laurent soutient qu'il en est ainsi; il cite des faits considérés comme indiscutables par toute une population à portée de savoir à quoi s'en tenir. Après avoir fait un exposé loyal des griefs dont il se plaint, il demande aux autorités constituées de procéder à une enquête, et comme celui qui se trouve dans la plaine, ne peut faire quelque bruit sans être entendu de ceux qui habitent les hauts sommets, il a recours à la grande voix de la presse.

Peut-on l'en blâmer? Non, certes, puisque c'est le seul

moyen d'attirer l'attention des autorités auxquelles il s'adresse, sur le fait qu'il existe chez une partie notable de leurs administrés, un mécontentement sérieux et des plus justifiables. Nous n'avons aucun doute que les écrits de M. Saint-Laurent ont signalé les abus dont l'existence a été toute une révélation pour certains dignitaires ecclésiastiques. La presse lui offrait probablement le seul moyen de porter ces faits à leur connaissance, et de les forcer en quelque sorte à s'enquérir du bien fondé de ces assertions.

Sans une agitation énergique et quelque peu bruyante on aurait pu continuer éternellement à faire bon marché des timides plaintes individuelles dont l'écho affaibli n'arrivait que très rarement aux sommets de la hiérarchie. Grâce au travail de M. Saint-Laurent, on doit commencer à s'apercevoir en haut lieu que l'on n'a pas affaire à quelques caractères inquiets, à quelques esprit grincheux, à quelques visionnaires en proie à la dyspepsie. La question est posée carrément. C'est tout un peuple d'origine française, qui veut bien se soumettre à l'épiscopat anglophobe sous lequel la Providence l'a placé, mais qui réclame le droit de conserver sa langue et sa nationalité distincte, qui veut, autant que possible, être desservi par des prêtres appartenant à sa race, qui s'insurge contre toute tentative ayant pour but de le dénationaliser. Les évêques irlandais ne comprennent pas ou du moins ne semblent pas comprendre jusqu'à quel point les intérêts de l'Eglise, d'accord en cela avec nos intérêts nationaux, exigent que l'on fasse droit à nos légitimes revendications. La conservation de notre caractère distinctif, considéré par nous comme un droit sacré, a été traitée de vaine lubie, de caprice déraisonnable par quelques-uns d'entre eux. *Le Monde* semble croire que M. Saint-Laurent devrait s'adresser aux évêques assimilateurs et les constituer juges dans leur propre cause. L'expérience a prouvé qu'il n'y a pas de

justice à attendre de ce côté. Ce n'est pas la première fois que ces distingués personnages ont été individuellement et collectivement priés de rendre justice à nos coreligionnaires franco-canadiens. Sans doute ce n'est pas le tribunal de l'opinion publique qui sera chargé de juger en dernier ressort, mais il paraît qu'il faut que ce tribunal soit saisi de notre cause pour que l'attention des autorités compétentes soit attirée sur nos griefs. Nous trouvons dans ce fait indéniable la justification de la ligne de conduite adoptée par M. Saint-Laurent. Nous réclamons pour lui, comme pour tous les opprimés le droit à l'agitation légitime. C'est au moyen de l'agitation que toutes les grandes réformes ont été opérées. Les efforts isolés produisent peu d'effet sur ceux qui exercent le pouvoir.

En demandant le concours de tous ceux qui souffrent des abus qu'il signale, M. St-Laurent fait tout simplement ce que doit faire tout homme ayant à cœur le succès d'une cause dont il s'est constitué le champion. Il n'y a rien dans sa conduite qui soit contraire à la discipline de l'Eglise. Loin de nier l'autorité, c'est elle qu'il invoque, c'est à elle qu'il s'adresse et s'il a recours à la publicité pour atteindre son but, il ne fait en cela que suivre l'exemple qui lui est donné par toutes les publications religieuses. Il serait étrange que l'usage de la presse fût mis au service de l'arbitraire et refusé aux amis de la justice. Quant au reproche que lui fait *le Monde* de promettre ce qu'il ne tient pas, il suffit de lire l'article de notre confrère pour constater que cette accusation est fautive. M. St-Laurent a invité le rédacteur du *Freeman's Journal* à l'aller voir au n° 66, rue St-Jacques, Montréal ; il n'a jamais promis de s'y exhiber en permanence pour la satisfaction des reporters indiscrets. Nous conseillons à nos lecteurs de lire l'article de "*l'Observateur Louisianais*," que nous reproduisons sous le titre *M. St-Laurent et le Freeman's Journal*. Ils y verront que cette publica-

tion catholique ne partage pas du tout les scrupules du "*Monde*" relativement à l'agitation entreprise en faveur du clergé canadien des Etats-Unis. Les écrits du digne personnage qui se cache (c'est son droit) sous le pseudonyme de Charles F. St-Laurent, n'ont pas encore été réfutés, mais ils ont attiré à son auteur des invectives qui, espérons-le, ne l'empêcheront pas de mener à bonne fin la croisade qu'il a entreprise pour la revendication de nos droits très réels, dont la violation ne fait pas le moindre doute aux yeux des Canadiens des Etats-Unis. Si cela devient nécessaire, la cause sera portée devant le Saint-Siège qui, nous en avons la certitude, ne sera pas scandalisé le moins du monde à l'idée que des catholiques osent en appeler à lui pour la solution d'un différend entre eux et un certain nombre d'évêques américains."

With the above documents, that vindicate our attitude, in the present struggle for liberty, we must take leave of our kind and very indulgent readers. We have penned these lines with purity of heart and rectitude of intention. We discussed, with the eyes of faith, every utterance found in this pamphlet, and we feel satisfied that we did not abuse the liberty of speech guaranteed to every gentleman, by Rome and God. We have served a great body of laymen and priests, who, for years, endured in silence the yoke of servitude. May heaven bless our humble and imperfect effort! may a suffering people be relieved from thralldom! If we have wounded the feelings of some bishops, in furthering the cause of our compatriots, we were impelled to such action by the powerful incentive of charity for a down-trodden neighbour. May these venerable prelates forgive us; our motives were pure—God is our judge! We have not written a line with a spirit of hostility to New-England prelates. With great confidence in the justice of our cause, we respectfully submit the grievances of our French-Canadian com-

patriots to the attention of our Bishops, trusting that the unmitigated, highhanded exercise of arbitrary power may be discarded; may the policy of might for right be abandoned. May the cry of distress reach your ears; may your paternal solicitude be extended to all your spiritual children, irrespective of color, clime, nationality, and you shall have deserved well of our people. We pledge our word and honor that the Church will receive a new impulse in the New-England States. Among the clergy and laity great rejoicing will prevail.

CHARLES F. ST. LAURENT,
N° 66 St. James Street,
Montreal, Canada.

COTE-DES-NEIGES,
Oct. 20th, 1896.



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. . CORRIGENDA . .

Page	8	Line	20	Read	Wrath.
"	26	"	5	"	Revolutions.
"	27	"	Latin Text	"	Componere.
"	37	"	25	"	O'Callaghans.
"	43	"	of Title	"	Patriotism.
"	50	"	26	"	Conquests.
"	51	"	18	"	Quietus.
"	52	"	3	"	Campaigns.
"	55	"	22	"	Disturber.
"	62	"	14 and 16	"	DeGoesbriand.
"	64	"	3	"	Before—speak.
We admit that they speak. . . . etc.					
"	67	"	9	"	It.
"	67	"	35	"	Pharaoh.
"	67	"	36	"	Heaving.
"	69	"	17	"	Not.
"	71	"	26	"	Applause.
"	78	"	6	"	Practices.
"	81	"	18	"	Public.
"	81	"	19	"	Do Not.
"	82	"	14	"	Our.

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ERRATA.

- Page 2... line... 21.. read... *attempt* instead of *attemp*.
- " 8... line... 10... read... *wrath* instead of *wratch*.
- " 8... line... 29... read... *innumerable* instead of *in numerable*.
- " 26... line... 5... read... *revolutions* instead of *resolutions*.
- " 26... line... 15... read... *ground work* instead of *grand work*.
- " 27... latin text read... *componere* instead of *compovere*.
- " 37... line... 25... read... *O'Callaghans* instead of *O'Collaghans*.
- " 43... title of chapter... read... *patriotism* instead of *patriotisme*.
- " 55... line... 22... read... *disturber* instead of *disturbers*.
- " 62... line... 5 and 7 of letter... read... *Degoeshbriand* instead of *Deljoeshbriand*.
- " 64... add after *Salmon Falls*... *we admit that they*.....
- " 67... line... 35... read... *Pharaoh* instead of *Phearaoh*.
- " 67... line... 36 .. read... *heaving* instead of *haring*.
- " 71... line... 26... read .. *applause* instead of *appearance*.
- " 78... line... 6... read... *practices* instead of *practises*.
- " 81... line... 18... read... *public* instead of *pubic*.
- " 81... line... 19... read... *do not* instead of *do ont*.
- " 81... line... 24... read... *deceased* instead of *deseased*.
- " 82... line... 14... read... *our* instead of *an*.
- " 102... line... 22... read... *pour* instead of *pous*.
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